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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

I

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Plutarchus

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

I

THESEUS AND ROMULUS
LYCURGUS AND NUMA
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXIV

PREFATORY NOTE

AGREEMENT between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) texts of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text of the present edition. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. All the *Lives* included in this volume are contained in the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), and occasional use has been made of the collations of that MS. by W. Meyer (Leipzig, 1890). Since no collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F^a), the excellent MS. so closely related to S, have been accessible to the Editor, its readings could only be inferred here and there from the text and notes of Stephanus. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

6596

The translation must speak for itself. Its author, like Plutarch himself, prays that he may find kindly readers, and feels reasonably confident of doing so among those who are able to appreciate the peculiarities of Plutarch's Greek. All the standard translations of the *Lives* have, of course, been carefully compared and utilized.

B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
February, 1914.

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INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's Life and Writings

Plutarch was born at Chaeroneia, a small town on the northern confines of Boeotia, about the middle of the first century of our era, and toward the close of the reign of the emperor Claudius. He belonged to a family of ample means and generous culture, and was liberally educated. He studied at Athens, the most attractive university town in his day for both Greeks and Romans, and was a disciple of Ammonius of Lamptrae, a Peripatetic philosopher deeply versed in religious lore. Returning to his native town, he was soon called upon to represent it as deputy to the Roman governor of the province of Greece. That he travelled extensively over Greece, visited Asia Minor, Egypt, and Italy, and resided much at Rome, may be inferred from his writings, as most that is known about him must be inferred. At Rome, he was in charge of certain public business, so that he had not time to learn thoroughly the Latin language, as he himself confesses in the introduction to his *Demosthenes*. But Greek was the language of literary and polite

society at Rome, and cultivated Greeks, especially philosophers, were welcome there. As a Greek philosopher, and a populariser of Platonism, Plutarch read and lectured at Rome, much as he did in the small but select circle of his intimates and friends at home. He made and retained a large acquaintance with the prominent Romans of his day, and was familiar with the questions which most occupied the minds of men at the political centre of the world. Then, after Athenian education, generous travels, diplomatic missions, modest literary celebrity, and considerable residence at Rome, he seems to have retired to his little country home, with his books, notes, lectures, essays, and gentle philosophy, and there, in a leisure not all too much encroached upon by local magistracies and certain religious offices at neighbouring Delphi, to have elaborated the sketches of his lectures and essays, which have come down to us under the collective name of *Morals*, and to have composed the work on which his fame chiefly rests, —the *Parallel Lives of Greeks and Romans*. He lived through the reigns Nero, Domitian, and Trajan, and, leaving the world as he did about 120 A.D., must have rejoiced at the accession of Hadrian to the imperial throne. His world had grown steadily better while he lived, and was now to enjoy its second golden age.

The *Morals* were composed, for the greater part, before the *Lives*, and are an invaluable prelude to and commentary on them, especially if we would

know just what manner of man the author of the *Lives* was. They tell us, as the *Lives* do not, "of the points of view, moral and religious, from which he contemplated not this man's life or the other's, but the whole life of men. Nor is it too much to affirm that of the two halves of Plutarch's writings, of his *Lives* and his *Morals*, each constitutes a complement of the other; the one setting forth to us, and, so far as this was possible, from ideal points of view, what the ancient world had accomplished in the world of action, and the other what, in like manner, it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought" (Trench, *Plutarch*, p. 90). But even in the *Lives*, Plutarch is far more moralist than historian.

Greece, after passing under Roman sway, lost sight gradually of her great men of action, and contented herself with the glories of her men of thought. Here surely the dominant Romans could not vie with her. It was to prove that the more remote past of Greece could show its lawgivers, commanders, statesmen, patriots, and orators, as well as the nearer and therefore more impressive past of Rome, that the *Parallel Lives* were written. With Scipio Africanus the Elder, the greatest man of Rome, Plutarch matched Epaminondas, the greatest man of Greece. This pair, or "book," of *Lives* is unfortunately lost. With Camillus, who saved Rome from the Gauls, he matched Themistocles, who saved Athens from the Persians. Then followed, as nearly

as the order can be determined—for the order of the *Lives* in our collection is not the original one, the *Cimon and Lucullus,* the *Lycurgus and Numa,* the *Demosthenes and Cicero,* the *Pelopidas and Marcellus,* the *Lysander and Sulla,* the *Philopoemen and Flamininus,* the *Pericles and Fabius Maximus,* the *Aristides and Cato Major,* and thirteen other pairs. Eighteen of the twenty-two pairs which have come down to us, close with a formal comparison of the two careers and characters. This is often fanciful and forced, abounds in contrasts rather than resemblances, and is seldom of any special historical value, although it often has great literary charm. There are also four single *Lives* in our collection, *Artaxerxes, Aratus, Galba,* and *Otho,* and we get traces of twelve more that are now lost. One of the pairs is a double one, where, to match the two Gracchi, Plutarch selects the two reforming Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes. We have in all, therefore, fifty *Lives* by Plutarch.

Manuscripts, Editions, Translations, Etc.

A full account of the MSS. of Plutarch must be sought in the critical editions of the *Lives* by Sintenis and Bekker. It will be sufficient to speak here of six.

The oldest and, with one exception, the most authoritative MS., is the Codex Sangermanensis (S^s),

in the library of the monastery of St. Germaindes-Prés, in the French Department of the Loire. It is a parchment MS. of the Xth century, but unfortunately contains only fifteen of the *Lives*: Antony (last part), Pyrrhus-Marius, Aratus, Artaxerxes, Agis and Cleomenes, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, Lycurgus-Numa, Lysander-Sulla, and Agesilaüs-Pompey.

The second oldest MS., and on the whole the most authoritative, is the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), belonging to the monastery of Seitenstetten, near Waidhofen, in Lower Austria. It is a parchment MS. of the XIth century, containing sixteen *Lives*: Lycurgus-Numa, Solon-Publicola, Aristides-Cato the elder, Themistocles-Camillus, Cimon-Lucullus, Pericles-Fabius Maximus, Nicias-Crassus, and Agesilaüs-Pompey. There are large deficiencies in the Lycurgus, Fabius, Nicias, and Crassus. It is only since 1870, and the edition of the Aristides and Cato by Hercher, that this MS. has been known to be not only the second oldest, but the best extant MS. of Plutarch. It has not been used in any special editions of *Lives* included in this first volume, but its readings are collected in the dissertation of W. Meyer, *De codice Plutarcheo Seitenstettensi eiusque asseclis, Leipsic,* 1890.

Three parchment MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, No. 1671 (A), of the XIIIth century, containing all the *Morals* and *Lives,* No. 1672 (C), also of the XIIIth century, containing all the *Lives,* and No. 1674 (D), of the XVIth century containing all the *Lives,* are of supreme importance,

and on these the texts of Sintenis and Bekker mainly rest. Of these three MSS., A and D seem to be more closely related to S^s, while C partakes of the characters both of S^s and S, and is often corrective of A and D.

Another MS. in the same library, No. 1676 (F^a), of the XVth century, has only more recently been recognized as the chief authority of Stephanus, and as partaking of the character of S. Its readings have not been fully published as yet, but have been used in editing the texts of special *Lives*, none of which, however, are included in this first volume.

Other MSS. will be mentioned as they come into importance for the text of special *Lives*.

The *editio princeps* of the *Parallel Lives*, 1517, "Florentiae, in aedibus Philippi Juntae," was based on Florentine MSS. of relatively inferior value.

The Aldine edition of the *Parallel Lives*, 1519, "Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri," was based on Venetian MSS., which were of greater excellence than the Florentine, some of them retaining their importance to the present day.

The first edition of the complete works of Plutarch, 1572, Paris, 13 voll. 8vo, was edited by Henri Etienne (Stephanus), who improved the text of his predecessors with readings of better MSS. unknown to them, making special use of Codex Parisinus, No. 1676 (F^a). The Paris edition of 1624, in two volumes folio, reproduced the text of Stephanus, and became the *textus receptus*. By its pages (given on the inner

margin of the text of the present edition) Plutarch is cited in the *Index vocum verborumque exquisitiorum in Plutarcho,* which closes Wyttenbach's great edition of the *Morals* (Oxford, 1830).

Critical and annotated editions of all the works of Plutarch by Reiske (Leipzig, 1774–82, 12 voll. 8vo), and of the *Parallel Lives* by Coraës (Paris, 1809–14, 6 voll. 8vo), were followed by the great critical edition of the *Parallel Lives* by Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839–46, 4 voll. 8vo), which still remains the standard edition (Sintenis[1]). A minor edition of this work appeared in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* (Leipzig, 1852–55, 5 voll. 12mo, re-issued without much change in 1873–75). It shows more boldness in the correction of obvious error, and greater freedom in the admission of conjecture, than the major edition, but is the most generally accepted text of the *Lives* (Sintenis[2]). The Tauchnitz text, edited by Immanuel Bekker (Leipzig, 1855–57, 5 voll. 8vo), does not differ very much from the first minor edition of Sintenis, but has a convenient division of the chapters into sections, which has been adopted in the present text.

In 1559 appeared the French version of the *Parallel Lives* by Jacques Amyot, the earliest French classic recognized by the French Academy. Amyot consulted many MSS. unknown to the authors of the Juntine and Aldine editions, and his work has an independent philological value, aside from its great literary merits.

It was from Amyot's version, rather than from the original Greek, that Sir Thomas North made his version of the *Lives* (1579), a translation by the earliest master of great English prose from the earliest master of great French prose. Shakespeare used this version in his *Coriolanus, Julius Caesar,* and *Antony and Cleopatra.* It was the Elizabethan Plutarch.

In Queen Anne's time, Dryden was "prevailed upon by his necessities" to head a company of translators of the *Lives,* and the version was called by his name (1683), although he furnished merely the Preface and the Life of Plutarch. Notwithstanding all the failings of this motley version, it supplanted that of North.

The first scholar's translation of the *Lives* from the original Greek into English, by the brothers John and William Langhorne, was published in 1770, and was the version most current from that time down to 1850. Compared with North's spirited version, it is rather dull and pedantic, although much more accurate.

Arthur Hugh Clough's revision of the so-called Dryden translation, a work which occupied this gifted scholar and poet for some seven years, was published in five volumes by Little, Brown & Co., of Boston, in 1859, and reprinted in one large octavo volume in 1876 and 1880. It is probably the best extant English version of all the *Lives.*

The best monograph on Plutarch in English is

that of Archbishop Trench, which was published by the Messrs. Macmillan & Co. in 1873, and in a second edition in 1874. Ralph Waldo Emerson had already furnished a characteristic essay on Plutarch as an Introduction to Goodwin's revision of the translation of the *Morals* "by several hands" (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1870, reprinted, 1889). To the edition of North's translation of the *Lives* in the "Tudor Translations" (London, David Nutt, 1895–96), the Rt. Hon. George Wyndham furnished an Introduction of superlative power and excellence. Professor Mahaffy's chapters on Plutarch in his *Greek World under Roman Sway* (Macmillan & Co., 1890, pp. 291–350 = *The Silver Age of the Greek World,* Chicago and London, 1906, pp. 339–402) abound in discriminating and suggestive appreciations. Finally, mention may be made of *Plutarch's Themistocles and Aristides,* newly translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Bernadotte Perrin, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES.

VOLUME I.

(1) Theseus and Romulus.
Comparison.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa.
Comparison.
(3) Solon and Publicola.
Comparison.

VOLUME II.

(4) Themistocles and Camillus.

. . . . .

(9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.
Comparison.
(13) Cimon and Lucullus.
Comparison.

VOLUME III.

(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
Comparison.
(14) Nicias and Crassus.
Comparison.

VOLUME IV.

(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
Comparison.
(12) Lysander and Sulla.
Comparison.

VOLUME V.

(16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
Comparison.
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
Comparison.

VOLUME VI.

(22) Dion and Brutus.
Comparison.
(7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
Comparison.

VOLUME VII.

(20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
Comparison.
(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.

. . . . .

VOLUME VIII.

(15) Sertorius and Eumenes.
Comparison.
(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.

. . . . .

VOLUME IX.

(21) Demetrius and Antony.
Comparison.
(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.

. . . . .

VOLUME X.

(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.
Comparison.
(10) Philopoemen and Flamininus.
Comparison.

VOLUME XI.

(23) Aratus.
(24) Artaxerxes.
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.

PLUTARCH'S PARALLEL LIVES

THESEUS

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΒΙΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΟΙ

ΘΗΣΕΥΣ

I. Ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς γεωγραφίαις, ὦ Σόσσιε Σενεκίων, οἱ ἱστορικοὶ τὰ διαφεύγοντα τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσι τῶν πινάκων πιεζοῦντες, αἰτίας[1] παραγράφουσιν ὅτι "Τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα θῖνες ἄνυδροι καὶ θηριώδεις" ἢ "πηλὸς ἀϊδνὴς" ἢ "Σκυθικὸν κρύος" ἢ "πέλαγος πεπηγός," οὕτως ἐμοὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν βίων τῶν παραλλήλων γραφήν, τὸν ἐφικτὸν εἰκότι λόγῳ καὶ βάσιμον ἱστορίᾳ πραγμάτων ἐχομένῃ χρόνον διελθόντι, περὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω καλῶς εἶχεν εἰπεῖν· "Τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα τερατώδη καὶ τραγικὰ ποιηταὶ καὶ μυθογράφοι νέμονται, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἔχει πίστιν
2 οὐδὲ σαφήνειαν." ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ Νομᾶ τοῦ βασιλέως λόγον ἐκδόντες, ἐδοκοῦμεν οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ προσαναβῆναι, πλησίον τῶν χρόνων αὐτοῦ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ γεγονότες, σκοποῦντι δέ μοι

[1] *αἰτίας* Amyot, Stephanus, Coraës, Sintenis[2] with C; Bekker and Sintenis[1] have *ἐνίοις* (*explaining some by saying*).

PLUTARCH'S PARALLEL LIVES

THESEUS

I. Just as geographers, O Socius Senecio,[1] crowd on to the outer edges of their maps the parts of the earth which elude their knowledge, with explanatory notes that "What lies beyond is sandy desert without water and full of wild beasts," or "blind marsh," or "Scythian cold," or "frozen sea," so in the writing of my Parallel Lives, now that I have traversed those periods of time which are accessible to probable reasoning and which afford basis for a history dealing with facts, I might well say of the earlier periods: "What lies beyond is full of marvels and unreality, the land of poets and fabulists, of doubt and obscurity." But after publishing my account of Lycurgus the lawgiver and Numa the king, I thought I might not unreasonably go back still farther to Romulus, now that my history had brought me near his times. And as I asked myself,

[1] One of the many friends whom Plutarch made during his residence at Rome. He was four times consul between the years 98 and 107 B.C. Plutarch addresses him also at the opening of the *Demosthenes* and the *Dion*, thus dedicating to him these "books."

Τοιῷδε φωτί (κατ' Αἰσχύλον) τίς ξυμβήσεται;[1] τίν' ἀντιτάξω τῷδε; τίς φερέγγυος;[2]

ἐφαίνετο τὸν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀοιδίμων οἰκιστὴν Ἀθηνῶν ἀντιστῆσαι καὶ παραβαλεῖν τῷ πατρὶ
3 τῆς ἀνικήτου καὶ μεγαλοδόξου Ῥώμης, εἴη μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἐκκαθαιρόμενον λόγῳ τὸ μυθῶδες ὑπακοῦσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἱστορίας ὄψιν, ὅπου δ' ἂν αὐθαδῶς τοῦ πιθανοῦ περιφρονῇ καὶ μὴ δέχηται τὴν πρὸς τὸ εἰκὸς μῖξιν, εὐγνωμόνων ἀκροατῶν δεησόμεθα καὶ πράως τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν προσδεχομένων.

II. Ἐδόκει δ' οὖν ὁ Θησεὺς τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ κατὰ πολλὰς ἐναρμόττειν ὁμοιότητας· ἄμφω μὲν γὰρ[3] ἀνεγγύω καὶ σκοτίω γενόμενοι δόξαν ἔσχον ἐκ θεῶν γεγονέναι,

Ἄμφω δ' αἰχμητά, τό γε δὴ καὶ ἴδμεν ἅπαντες,

καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ τὸ συνετὸν ἔχοντες. πόλεων δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ὁ μὲν ἔκτισε τὴν Ῥώμην, ὁ δὲ συνῴκισε τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἁρπαγὴ δὲ γυναικῶν
2 ἑκατέρῳ πρόσεστιν. οὐδέτερος δὲ δυστυχίαν περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ νέμεσιν ἐγγενῆ διέφυγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῶντες ἀμφότεροι λέγονται τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προσκροῦσαι πολίταις, εἴ τι τῶν ἥκιστα τραγι-

[1] *Seven against Thebes*, 435, τοιῷδε φωτὶ πέμπε — τίς ξυστήσεται;

[2] *Ibid.* 395 f.

τίν' ἀντιτάξεις τῷδε; τίς Προίτου πυλῶν
κληῆθρον λυθέντων προστατεῖν φερέγγυος;

[3] Coraës, Bekker, and Cobet, with C, after Reiske: ἄμφω μέν.

"With such a warrior" (as Aeschylus says) "who will dare to fight?"

"Whom shall I set against him? Who is competent?"

it seemed to me that I must make the founder of lovely and famous Athens the counterpart and parallel to the father of invincible and glorious Rome. May I therefore succeed in purifying Fable, making her submit to reason and take on the semblance of History. But where she obstinately disdains to make herself credible, and refuses to admit any element of probability, I shall pray for kindly readers, and such as receive with indulgence the tales of antiquity.

II. It seemed to me, then, that many resemblances made Theseus a fit parallel to Romulus. For both were of uncertain and obscure parentage, and got the reputation of descent from gods;

"Both were also warriors, as surely the whole world knoweth,"[1]

and with their strength, combined sagacity. Of the world's two most illustrious cities, moreover, Rome and Athens, Romulus founded the one, and Theseus made a metropolis of the other, and each resorted to the rape of women. Besides, neither escaped domestic misfortunes and the resentful anger of kindred, but even in their last days both are said to have come into collision with their own fellow-citizens,

[1] *Iliad* vii. 281, of Aias Telamon and Hector.

κῶς εἰρῆσθαι δοκούντων ὄφελός ἐστι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν.

III. Θησέως τὸ μὲν πατρῷον γένος εἰς Ἐρεχθέα 2
καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτόχθονας ἀνήκει, τῷ δὲ μητρῴῳ Πελοπίδης ἦν. Πέλοψ γὰρ οὐ χρημάτων πλήθει μᾶλλον ἢ παίδων μέγιστον ἴσχυσε τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ βασιλέων, πολλὰς μὲν ἐκδόμενος θυγατέρας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, πολλοὺς δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν υἱοὺς ἐγκατασπείρας ἄρχοντας· ὧν εἷς γενόμενος Πιτθεύς, ὁ Θησέως πάππος, πόλιν μὲν οὐ μεγάλην τὴν Τροιζηνίων ᾤκισε, δόξαν δὲ μάλιστα πάντων ὡς ἀνὴρ λόγιος ἐν τοῖς τότε καὶ
2 σοφώτατος ἔσχεν. ἦν δὲ τῆς σοφίας ἐκείνης τοιαύτη τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἰδέα καὶ δύναμις, οἵᾳ χρησάμενος Ἡσίοδος εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα περὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς Ἔργοις γνωμολογίας. καὶ μίαν γε τούτων ἐκείνην λέγουσι Πιτθέως εἶναι,

Μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ εἰρημένος ἄρκιος ἔστω.

τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος εἴρηκεν, ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης, τὸν Ἱππόλυτον ἁγνοῦ Πιτθέως παίδευμα προσειπών, ἐμφαίνει τὴν περὶ τὸν Πιτθέα δόξαν.

3 Λίγεῖ δὲ παίδων δεομένῳ τὴν Πυθίαν ἀνελεῖν λέγουσι τὸν θρυλούμενον χρησμόν, διακελευομένην μηδεμιᾷ γυναικὶ συγγενέσθαι πρὶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας, οὐ πάνυ δὲ τοῦτο φράζειν εὐδήλως

if there is any aid to the truth in what seems to have been told with the least poetic exaggeration.

III. The lineage of Theseus, on the father's side, goes back to Erechtheus and the first children of the soil; on the mother's side, to Pelops. For Pelops was the strongest of the kings in Peloponnesus quite as much on account of the number of his children as the amount of his wealth. He gave many daughters in marriage to men of highest rank, and scattered many sons among the cities as their rulers. One of these, named Pittheus, the grandfather of Theseus, founded the little city of Troezen, and had the highest repute as a man versed in the lore of his times and of the greatest wisdom. Now the wisdom of that day had some such form and force as that for which Hesiod was famous, especially in the sententious maxims of his "Works and Days." One of these maxims is ascribed to Pittheus, namely :—

"Payment pledged to a man who is dear must be ample and certain." [1]

At any rate, this is what Aristotle the philosopher says, [2] and Euripides,[3] when he has Hippolytus addressed as "nursling of the pure and holy Pittheus," shows what the world thought of Pittheus.

Now Aegeus, king of Athens, desiring to have children, is said to have received from the Pythian priestess the celebrated oracle in which she bade him to have intercourse with no woman until he came to Athens. But Aegeus thought the words of the command somewhat obscure, and therefore turned

[1] Verse 370. [2] Fragment 556. [3] *Hippolytus*, 11.

δοκοῦσαν· ὅθεν εἰς Τροιζῆνα παρελθὼν ἀνεκοινοῦτο Πιτθεῖ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φωνὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν·

'Ασκοῦ τὸν προὔχοντα πόδα, μέγα φέρτατε λαῶν,
μὴ λύσῃς πρὶν δῆμον 'Αθηνέων εἰσαφικέσθαι·

4 ἃ δῆλον ὅτι νοήσας ὁ Πιτθεύς, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἢ διηπάτησε τῇ Αἴθρᾳ συγγενέσθαι. συνελθὼν δὲ καὶ γνοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὅτι τῇ Πιτθέως θυγατρὶ συγγέγονε, καὶ κύειν αὐτὴν ὑπονοήσας, ἀπέλιπε ξίφος καὶ πέδιλα κρύψας ὑπὸ πέτραν μεγάλην, ἐντὸς ἔχουσαν κοιλότητα συμμέτρως ἐμπεριλαμβάνου-
5 σαν τὰ κείμενα. φράσας δὲ πρὸς μόνην ἐκείνην, καὶ διακελευσάμενος, ἂν υἱὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γένηται, καὶ λαβὼν ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν δυνατὸς ᾖ τὴν πέτραν ἀναστῆσαι καὶ ὑφελεῖν τὰ καταλειφθέντα, πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ταῦτα μηδενὸς εἰδότος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἥκιστα λανθάνοντα πάντας (ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἐδεδοίκει τοὺς Παλλαντίδας, ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν καταφρονοῦντας· ἦσαν δὲ πεντήκοντα παῖδες ἐκ Πάλλαντος γεγονότες), ἀπῄει.

IV. Τεκούσης δὲ τῆς Αἴθρας υἱόν, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ὀνομασθῆναι Θησέα λέγουσι διὰ τὴν τῶν γνωρισμάτων θέσιν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον 'Αθήνησι παῖδα θεμένου τοῦ Αἰγέως αὐτόν. τρεφόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ

aside to Troezen and communicated to Pittheus the words of the god, which ran as follows:—

"Loose not the wine-skin's jutting neck, great chief of the people,
Until thou shalt have come once more to the city of Athens." [1]

This dark saying Pittheus apparently understood, and persuaded him, or beguiled him, to have intercourse with his daughter Aethra. Aegeus did so, and then learning that it was the daughter of Pittheus with whom he had consorted, and suspecting that she was with child by him, he left a sword and a pair of sandals hidden under a great rock, which had a hollow in it just large enough to receive these objects. He told the princess alone about this, and bade her, if a son should be born to her from him, and if, when he came to man's estate, he should be able to lift up the rock and take away what had been left under it, to send that son to him with the tokens, in all secrecy, and concealing his journey as much as possible from everybody; for he was mightily in fear of the sons of Pallas,[2] who were plotting against him, and who despised him on account of his childlessness; and they were fifty in number, these sons of Pallas. Then he went away.

IV. When Aethra gave birth to a son, he was at once named Theseus, as some say, because the tokens for his recognition had been *placed*[3] in hiding; but others say that it was afterwards at Athens, when Aegeus *acknowledged*[3] him as his son. He was reared

[1] Cf. Euripides, *Medea*, 674, 676 (Kirchhoff).

[2] His brother.

[3] It is impossible to reproduce in English the play on the Greek words.

τοῦ Πιτθέως ἐπιστάτην ἔχειν καὶ παιδαγωγὸν ὄνομα Κοννίδαν, ᾧ μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι μιᾷ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Θησείων κριὸν ἐναγίζουσι, μεμνημένοι καὶ τιμῶντες πολὺ δικαιότερον ἢ Σιλανίωνα τιμῶσι καὶ Παρράσιον, εἰκόνων Θησέως γραφεῖς καὶ πλάστας γενομένους.

V. Ἔθους δὲ ὄντος ἔτι τότε τοὺς μεταβαίνοντας ἐκ παίδων ἐλθόντας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τῆς κόμης, ἦλθε μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὁ Θησεύς, καὶ τόπον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Θησείαν ἔτι νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐκείρατο δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ πρόσθεν μόνον, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ἔφη τοὺς Ἄβαντας· καὶ τοῦτο τῆς κουρᾶς τὸ γένος Θησηὶς ὠνομάσθη δι' ἐκεῖνον.

2 Οἱ δὲ Ἄβαντες ἐκείραντο πρῶτοι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον οὐχ ὑπ' Ἀράβων διδαχθέντες, ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, οὐδὲ Μυσοὺς ζηλώσαντες, ἀλλ' ὄντες πολεμικοὶ καὶ ἀγχέμαχοι, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων εἰς χεῖρας ὠθεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις μεμαθηκότες, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν τούτοις·

3 Οὔ τοι πόλλ' ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσσεται οὐδὲ θαμειαὶ 3
σφενδόναι, εὖτ' ἂν δὴ μῶλον Ἄρης συνάγῃ
ἐν πεδίῳ, ξιφέων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἔργον·
ταύτης γὰρ κεῖνοι δαίμονές εἰσι μάχης
δεσπόται Εὐβοίας δουρικλυτοί.

by Pittheus, as they say, and had an overseer and tutor named Connidas. To this man, even down to the present time, the Athenians sacrifice a ram on the day before the festival of Theseus, remembering him and honouring him with far greater justice than they honour Silanio and Parrhasius, who merely painted and moulded likenesses of Theseus.

V. Since it was still a custom at that time for youth who were coming of age to go to Delphi and sacrifice some of their hair to the god, Theseus went to Delphi for this purpose, and they say there is a place there which still to this day is called the Theseia from him. But he sheared only the fore part of his head, just as Homer[1] said the Abantes did, and this kind of tonsure was called Theseïs after him.

Now the Abantes were the first to cut their hair in this manner, not under instruction from the Arabians, as some suppose, nor yet in emulation of the Mysians, but because they were war-like men and close fighters, who had learned beyond all other men to force their way into close quarters with their enemies. Archilochus is witness to this in the following words:—

"Not many bows indeed will be stretched tight, nor frequent slings
Be whirled, when Ares joins men in the moil of war
Upon the plain, but swords will do their mournful work;
For this is the warfare wherein those men are expert
Who lord it over Euboea and are famous with the spear."[2]

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 542. [2] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*[4], ii. p. 383.

4 ὅπως οὖν μὴ παρέχοιεν ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν ἀντίληψιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπεκείραντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἀμέλει καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐννοήσαντά φασι προστάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ξυρεῖν τὰ γένεια τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς λαβὴν ταύτην ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οὖσαν προχειροτάτην.

VI. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλον χρόνον ἔκρυπτεν Αἴθρα τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ Θησέως γένεσιν· ἦν δὲ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πιτθέως διαδοθεὶς· ὡς ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος τεκνωθείη. Ποσειδῶνα γὰρ Τροιζήνιοι σέβονται διαφερόντως, καὶ θεὸς οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς πολιοῦχος, ᾧ καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάρχονται καὶ τρίαιναν
2 ἐπίσημον ἔχουσι τοῦ νομίσματος. ἐπεὶ δὲ μειράκιον ὤν, ἅμα τῇ τοῦ σώματος ῥώμῃ διέφαινεν ἀλκὴν καὶ φρόνημα μετὰ νοῦ καὶ συνέσεως βέβαιον, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἡ Αἴθρα πρὸς τὴν πέτραν προσαγαγοῦσα, καὶ φράσασα περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τἀληθές, ἐκέλευσεν ὑφελεῖν τὰ πατρῷα σύμβολα
3 καὶ πλεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πέτραν ὑπέδυ καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀνέωσε, πλεῖν δὲ ἀπέγνω, καίπερ οὔσης ἀσφαλείας καὶ δεομένων τοῦ τε πάππου καὶ τῆς μητρός. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν πεζῇ πορεύεσθαι τὴν εἰς Ἀθήνας ὁδόν, οὐδὲν μέρος καθαρὸν οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον ὑπὸ λῃστῶν καὶ κακούργων ἔχουσαν.

4 Ὁ γὰρ δὴ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος ἤνεγκεν ἀνθρώπους χειρῶν μὲν ἔργοις καὶ ποδῶν τάχεσι καὶ σωμάτων ῥώμαις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπερφυεῖς καὶ ἀκαμάτους, πρὸς οὐδὲν δὲ τῇ φύσει χρωμένους ἐπιεικὲς οὐδὲ ὠφέλιμον, ἀλλ' ὕβρει τε χαίροντας ὑπερηφάνῳ, καὶ ἀπολαύοντας τῆς δυνάμεως ὠμότητι καὶ πικρίᾳ, καὶ τῷ κρατεῖν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι καὶ

Therefore, in order that they might not give their enemies a hold by their hair, they cut it off. And Alexander of Macedon doubtless understood this when, as they say, he ordered his generals to have the beards of their Macedonians shaved, since these afforded the readiest hold in battle.

VI. During the rest of the time, then, Aethra kept his true birth concealed from Theseus, and a report was spread abroad by Pittheus that he was begotten by Poseidon. For Poseidon is highly honoured by the people of Troezen, and he is the patron god of their city; to him they offer first fruits in sacrifice, and they have his trident as an emblem on their coinage. But when, in his young manhood, Theseus displayed, along with his vigour of body, prowess also, and a firm spirit united with intelligence and sagacity, then Aethra brought him to the rock, told him the truth about his birth, and bade him take away his father's tokens and go by sea to Athens. Theseus put his shoulder to the rock and easily raised it up, but he refused to make his journey by sea, although safety lay in that course, and his grandfather and his mother begged him to take it. For it was difficult to make the journey to Athens by land, since no part of it was clear nor yet without peril from robbers and miscreants.

For verily that age produced men who, in work of hand and speed of foot and vigour of body, were extraordinary and indefatigable, but they applied their powers to nothing that was fitting or useful. Nay rather, they exulted in monstrous insolence, and reaped from their strength a harvest of cruelty and bitterness, mastering and forcing and destroying everything that came in their path. And as for

διαφθείρειν τὸ παραπῖπτον, αἰδῶ δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, ὡς ἀτολμίᾳ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας, οὐδὲν οἰομένους προσ-
5 ήκειν τοῖς πλέον ἔχειν δυναμένοις. τούτων Ἡρακλῆς τοὺς μὲν ἐξέκοπτε καὶ ἀνῄρει περιϊών, οἱ δὲ λανθάνοντες ἐκείνου παριόντος ἔπτησσον καὶ ἀνεδύοντο καὶ παρημελοῦντο ταπεινὰ πράττοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐχρήσατο συμφορᾷ, καὶ κτείνας Ἶφιτον εἰς Λυδίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ συχνὸν ἐκεῖ χρόνον ἐδούλευε παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ, δίκην τοῦ φόνου ταύτην ἐπιθεὶς αὐτῷ, τότε τὰ μὲν Λυδῶν πράγματα πολλὴν ἔσχεν εἰρήνην καὶ ἄδειαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις αὖθις ἐξήνθησαν
6 αἱ κακίαι καὶ ἀνερράγησαν, οὐδενὸς πιεζοῦντος οὐδὲ κατείργοντος.

Ἦν οὖν ὀλέθριος ἡ πορεία τοῖς Ἀθήναζε πεζῇ βαδίζουσιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου· καὶ τῶν κακούργων ἕκαστον ἐξηγούμενος Πιτθεὺς ὁποῖος εἴη καὶ ὁποῖα δρῴη περὶ τοὺς ξένους, ἔπειθε τὸν Θησέα κομίζεσθαι διὰ θαλάττης. τὸν δὲ πάλαι μέν, ὡς ἔοικε, λεληθότως διέκαιεν ἡ δόξα τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἀρετῆς, καὶ πλεῖστον ἐκείνου λόγον εἶχε, καὶ προθυμότατος ἀκροατὴς ἐγίνετο τῶν διηγουμένων ἐκεῖνον οἷος εἴη, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν αὐτὸν ἑωρακότων καὶ πράττοντι καὶ λέγοντι
7 προστετυχηκότων· τότε δὲ παντάπασιν ἦν φανερὸς πεπονθὼς ὅπερ ὕστερον χρόνοις πολλοῖς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπαθε, καὶ εἶπεν ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐᾷ τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον· οὕτως ἐκείνῳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θαυμάζοντι τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ

reverence and righteousness, justice and humanity, they thought that most men praised these qualities for lack of courage to do wrong and for fear of being wronged, and considered them no concern of men who were strong enough to get the upper hand. Some of these creatures Heracles cut off and destroyed as he went about, but some escaped his notice as he passed by, crouching down and shrinking back, and were overlooked in their abjectness. And when Heracles met with calamity and, after the slaying of Iphitus, removed into Lydia and for a long time did slave's service there in the house of Omphale, then Lydia indeed obtained great peace and security; but in the regions of Hellas the old villainies burst forth and broke out anew, there being none to rebuke and none to restrain them.

The journey was therefore a perilous one for travellers by land from Peloponnesus to Athens, and Pittheus, by describing each of the miscreants at length, what sort of a monster he was, and what deeds he wrought upon strangers, tried to persuade Theseus to make his journey by sea. But he, as it would seem, had long since been secretly fired by the glorious valour of Heracles, and made the greatest account of that hero, and was a most eager listener to those who told what manner of man he was, and above all to those who had seen him and been present at some deed or speech of his. And it is altogether plain that he then experienced what Themistocles many generations afterwards experienced, when he said that he could not sleep for the trophy of Miltiades.[1] In like manner Theseus admired the valour of Heracles, until by night his dreams were of the hero's

[1] Cf. *Themistocles*, iii. 3.

νύκτωρ ὄνειρος ἦσαν αἱ πράξεις, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ ζῆλος καὶ ἀνηρέθιζε ταὐτὰ πράττειν διανοούμενον.

VII. Ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ γένους κοινωνοῦντες 4
ἐξ ἀνεψιῶν ὄντες. Αἴθρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν Πιτθέως θυγάτηρ, Ἀλκμήνη δὲ Λυσιδίκης, Λυσιδίκη δὲ καὶ Πιτθεὺς ἀδελφοὶ γεγονότες ἐξ Ἱπποδαμείας καὶ Πέλοπος. δεινὸν οὖν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πονηροὺς βαδίζοντα καθαίρειν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, αὐτὸν δὲ τοὺς
2 ἐμποδὼν ἄθλους ἀποδιδράσκειν, τὸν μὲν λόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ πατέρα καταισχύνων διὰ θαλάττης φυγῇ κομιζόμενος, τῷ δὲ ὄντι προσφέρων γνωρίσματα πέδιλα καὶ ξίφος ἀναίμακτον, οὐκ ἔργοις εὐθὺς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πράξεσι παρέχων ἐμφανῆ χαρακτῆρα τῆς εὐγενείας. τοιούτῳ φρονήματι καὶ τοιούτοις λογισμοῖς ἐξώρμησεν, ὡς ἀδικήσων μὲν οὐδένα, τοὺς δὲ ὑπάρχοντας βίας ἀμυνούμενος.

VIII. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ Περιφήτην, ὅπλῳ χρώμενον κορύνῃ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Κορυνήτην ἐπικαλούμενον, ἀπτόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ κωλύοντα προάγειν συμβαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν· ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῇ κορύνῃ λαβὼν ὅπλον ἐποιήσατο καὶ διετέλει χρώμενος, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῷ δέρματι τοῦ λέοντος. ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπίδειξις ἦν φορούμενον ἡλίκου τὸ μέγεθος θηρίου κρατήσειεν, οὗτος δὲ τὴν κορύνην ἐπεδείκνυεν ἠττημένην μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀήττητον οὖσαν.
2 Ἐν δ' Ἰσθμῷ Σίνιν τὸν πιτυοκάμπτην ᾧ τρόπῳ

achievements, and by day his ardour led him along and spurred him on in his purpose to achieve the like.

VII. And besides, they were kinsmen, being sons of cousins-german. For Aethra was daughter of Pittheus, as Alcmene was of Lysidice, and Lysidice and Pittheus were brother and sister, children of Hippodameia and Pelops. Accordingly, he thought it a dreadful and unendurable thing that his famous cousin should go out against the wicked everywhere and purge land and sea of them, while he himself ran away from the struggles which lay in his path, disgracing his reputed father [1] by journeying like a fugitive over the sea, and bringing to his real father as proofs of his birth only sandals and a sword unstained with blood, instead of at once offering noble deeds and achievements as the manifest mark of his noble birth. In such a spirit and with such thoughts he set out, determined to do no man any wrong, but to punish those who offered him violence.

VIII. And so in the first place, in Epidauria, when Periphetes, who used a club as his weapon and on this account was called Club-bearer, laid hold of him and tried to stop his progress, he grappled with him and slew him. And being pleased with the club, he took it and made it his weapon and continued to use it, just as Heracles did with the lion's skin. That hero wore the skin to prove how great a wild beast he had mastered, and so Theseus carried the club to show that although it had been vanquished by him, in his own hands it was invincible.

On the Isthmus, too, he slew Sinis the Pine-bender

[1] Cf. chapter vi. 1.

πολλοὺς ἀνῄρει, τούτῳ διέφθειρεν αὐτός, οὐ μεμελετηκὼς οὐδ' εἰθισμένος, ἐπιδείξας δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὅτι καὶ τέχνης περίεστι καὶ μελέτης ἁπάσης. ἦν δὲ τῷ Σίνιδι καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη θυγάτηρ, ὄνομα Περιγούνη. ταύτην τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνῃρημένου φυγοῦσαν ἐζήτει περιϊὼν ὁ Θησεύς· ἡ δ' εἰς τόπον ἀπελθοῦσα λόχμην ἔχοντα πολλὴν στοιβήν τε πλείστην καὶ ἀσφάραγον, ἀκάκως πάνυ καὶ παιδικῶς ὥσπερ αἰσθανομένων δεομένη προσεύχετο μεθ' ὅρκων, ἂν σώσωσιν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποκρύψωσι, μηδέποτε λυμανεῖσθαι μηδὲ καύσειν. 3 ἀνακαλουμένου δὲ τοῦ Θησέως καὶ πίστιν διδόντος ὡς ἐπιμελήσεται καλῶς αὐτῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδικήσει, προῆλθε· καὶ τῷ μὲν Θησεῖ συγγενομένη Μελάνιππον ἔτεκε, Δηϊονεῖ δὲ τῷ Εὐρύτου τοῦ Οἰχαλιέως ὕστερον συνῴκησε, Θησέως δόντος. ἐκ δὲ Μελανίππου τοῦ Θησέως γενόμενος Ἴωξος Ὀρνύτῳ τῆς εἰς Καρίαν ἀποικίας μετέσχεν· ὅθεν Ἰωξίδαις καὶ Ἰωξίσι πάτριον κατέστη μήτε ἄκανθαν ἀσφαράγου μήτε στοιβὴν καίειν, ἀλλὰ σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν.

IX. Ἡ δὲ Κρομμυωνία σῦς, ἣν Φαιὰν προσωνόμαζον, οὐ φαῦλον ἦν θηρίον, ἀλλὰ μάχιμον καὶ χαλεπὸν κρατηθῆναι. ταύτην ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, ὡς μὴ δοκοίη πάντα πρὸς ἀνάγκην πονεῖν, ὑποστὰς ἀνεῖλε, καὶ ἅμα τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀμυνόμενον οἰόμενος δεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν προσφέρεσθαι, τῶν δὲ θηρίων καὶ προεπιχειροῦντα τοῖς γενναίοις μάχεσθαι καὶ διακινδυ-

in the very manner in which many men had been destroyed by himself, and he did this without practice or even acquaintance with the monster's device, but showing that valour is superior to all device and practice. Now Sinis had a very beautiful and stately daughter, named Perigune. This daughter took to flight when her father was killed, and Theseus went about in search of her. But she had gone off into a place which abounded greatly in shrubs and rushes and wild asparagus, and with exceeding innocence and childish simplicity was supplicating these plants, as if they understood her, and vowing that if they would hide and save her, she would never trample them down nor burn them. When, however, Theseus called upon her and gave her a pledge that he would treat her honourably and do her no wrong, she came forth, and after consorting with Theseus, bore him Melanippus, and afterwards lived with Deïoneus, son of Eurytus the Oechalian, to whom Theseus gave her. From Melanippus the son of Theseus, Ioxus was born, who took part with Ornytus in leading a colony into Caria; whence it is ancestral usage with the Ioxids, men and women, not to burn either the asparagus-thorn or the rush, but to revere and honour them.

IX. Now the Crommyonian sow, which they called Phaea, was no insignificant creature, but fierce and hard to master. This sow he went out of his way to encounter and slay, that he might not be thought to perform all his exploits under compulsion, and at the same time because he thought that while the brave man ought to attack villainous men only in self defence, he should seek occasion to risk his life in battle with the nobler beasts. However, some say

νεύειν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι τὴν Φαιὰν λῃστρίδα γενέσθαι γυναῖκα φονικὴν καὶ ἀκόλαστον, αὐτόθι κατοικοῦσαν ἐν Κρομμυῶνι, σῦν δὲ ἐπονομασθεῖσαν διὰ τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν βίον εἶτα ὑπὸ Θησέως ἀποθανεῖν.

Χ. Σκείρωνα δὲ πρὸ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀνεῖλε ῥίψας κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν, ὡς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος λῃστεύοντα τοὺς παριόντας, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ὕβρει καὶ τρυφῇ προτείνοντα τὼ πόδε τοῖς ξένοις καὶ κελεύοντα νίπτειν, εἶτα λακτίζοντα καὶ ἀπω-
2 θοῦντα νίπτοντας εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. οἱ δὲ Μεγαρόθεν συγγραφεῖς, ὁμόσε τῇ φήμῃ βαδίζοντες καὶ τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, πολεμοῦντες, οὔτε ὑβριστὴν οὔτε λῃστὴν γεγονέναι τὸν Σκείρωνά φασιν, ἀλλὰ λῃστῶν μὲν κολαστήν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ καὶ δικαίων οἰκεῖον ἀνδρῶν καὶ φίλον. Αἰακόν τε γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ὁσιώτατον νομίζεσθαι, καὶ Κυχρέα τιμὰς θεῶν ἔχειν Ἀθήνησι τὸν Σαλαμίνιον, τὴν δὲ Πηλέως καὶ Τελαμῶνος ἀρε-
3 τὴν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀγνοεῖσθαι. Σκείρωνα τοίνυν Κυχρέως μὲν γενέσθαι γαμβρόν, Αἰακοῦ δὲ πενθερόν, Πηλέως δὲ καὶ Τελαμῶνος πάππον, ἐξ Ἐνδηίδος γεγονότων τῆς Σκείρωνος καὶ Χαρικλοῦς θυγατρός. οὔκουν εἰκὸς εἶναι τῷ κακίστῳ τοὺς ἀρίστους εἰς κοινωνίαν γένους ἐλθεῖν, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα λαμβάνοντας καὶ διδόντας. ἀλλὰ Θησέα φασὶν οὐχ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐβάδιζεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, ἀλλ' ὕστερον Ἐλευσῖνά τε λαβεῖν Μεγαρέων ἐχόντων, παρακρουσάμενον Διοκλέα τὸν ἄρχοντα, καὶ Σκείρωνα ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει τοιαύτας ἀντιλογίας.

that Phaea was a female robber, a woman of murderous and unbridled spirit, who dwelt in Crommyon, was called Sow because of her life and manners, and was afterwards slain by Theseus.

X. He also slew Sciron on the borders of Megara, by hurling him down the cliffs. Sciron robbed the passers by, according to the prevalent tradition; but as some say, he would insolently and wantonly thrust out his feet to strangers and bid them wash them, and then, while they were washing them, kick them off into the sea. Megarian writers, however, taking issue with current report, and, as Simonides[1] expresses it, "waging war with antiquity," say that Sciron was neither a violent man nor a robber, but a chastiser of robbers, and a kinsman and friend of good and just men. For Aeacus, they say, is regarded as the most righteous of Hellenes, and Cychreus the Salaminian has divine honours at Athens, and the virtues of Peleus and Telamon are known to all men. Well, then, Sciron was a son-in-law of Cychreus, father-in-law of Aeacus, and grandfather of Peleus and Telamon, who were the sons of Endeïs, daughter of Sciron and Chariclo. It is not likely, then, they say, that the best of men made family alliances with the basest, receiving and giving the greatest and most valuable pledges. It was not, they say, when Theseus first journeyed to Athens, but afterwards, that he captured Eleusis from the Megarians, having circumvented Diocles its ruler, and slew Sciron. Such, then, are the contradictions in which these matters are involved.

[1] Fragment 193 (Bergk).

XI. Ἐν δὲ Ἐλευσῖνι Κερκύονα τὸν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καταπαλαίσας ἀνεῖλε· καὶ μικρὸν προελθὼν Δαμάστην ἐν Ἐρινεῷ[1] τὸν Προκρούστην, ἀναγκάσας αὐτὸν ἀπισοῦν τοῖς κλιντῆρσιν ὥσπερ τοὺς ξένους ἐκεῖνος. ἔπραττε δὲ ταῦτα μιμούμενος τὸν Ἡρακλέα. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οἷς ἐπεβουλεύετο τρόποις ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς προεπιχειροῦντας, ἔθυσε τὸν Βούσιριν καὶ κατεπάλαισε τὸν Ἀνταῖον καὶ τὸν Κύκνον κατεμονομάχησε καὶ τὸν Τέρμερον συρρήξας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέ-
2 κτεινεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ Τερμέρειον κακὸν ὀνομασθῆναι λέγουσι· παίων γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὁ Τέρμερος ἀπώλλυεν. οὕτω δὴ καὶ Θησεὺς κολάζων τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐπεξῆλθεν, οἷς μὲν ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς ἄλλους, ὑπ' ἐκείνου καταβιαζομένους, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τρόποις τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀδικίας τὰ δίκαια πάσχοντας.

XII. Προϊόντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γενομένῳ κατὰ τὸν Κηφισόν, ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ Φυταλιδῶν γένους ἀπαντήσαντες ἠσπάσαντο πρῶτοι, καὶ δεομένου καθαρθῆναι, τοῖς νενομισμένοις ἁγνίσαντες καὶ μειλίχια θύσαντες εἱστίασαν οἴκοι, μηδενὸς πρότερον αὐτῷ φιλανθρώπου καθ' ὁδὸν ἐντυχόντος.

Ἡμέρᾳ μὲν οὖν ὀγδόῃ λέγεται Κρονίου μηνός, ὃν νῦν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα καλοῦσι, κατελθεῖν. κατελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὗρε τά τε κοινὰ ταραχῆς μεστὰ καὶ διχοφροσύνης, καὶ τὰ περὶ
2 τὸν Αἰγέα καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἰδίᾳ νοσοῦντα. Μήδεια

[1] Ἐρινεῷ with Coraës, after Pausanias, i. 38, 5: Ἔρμει, a correction by Palmerius of the MSS. Ἑρμιόνῃ.

XI. In Eleusis, moreover, he out-wrestled Cercyon the Arcadian and killed him; and going on a little farther, at Erineüs, he killed Damastes, surnamed Procrustes, by compelling him to make his own body fit his bed, as he had been wont to do with those of strangers. And he did this in imitation of Heracles. For that hero punished those who offered him violence in the manner in which they had plotted to serve him, and therefore sacrificed Busiris, wrestled Antaeus to death, slew Cycnus in single combat, and killed Termerus by dashing in his skull. It is from him, indeed, as they say, that the name "Termerian mischief" comes, for Termerus, as it would seem, used to kill those who encountered him by dashing his head against theirs. Thus Theseus also went on his way chastising the wicked, who were visited with the same violence from him which they were visiting upon others, and suffered justice after the manner of their own injustice.

XII. As he went forward on his journey and came to the river Cephisus, he was met by men of the race of the Phytalidae, who greeted him first, and when he asked to be purified from bloodshed, cleansed him with the customary rites, made propitiatory sacrifices, and feasted him at their house. This was the first kindness which he met with on his journey.

It was, then, on the eighth day of the month Cronius, now called Hecatombaeon, that he is said to have arrived at Athens. And when he entered the city, he found public affairs full of confusion and dissension, and the private affairs of Aegeus and his household in a distressing condition. For Medea,

γὰρ ἐκ Κορίνθου φυγοῦσα, φαρμάκοις ὑποσχομένη τῆς ἀτεκνίας ἀπαλλάξειν Αἰγέα, συνῆν αὐτῷ. προαισθομένη δὲ περὶ τοῦ Θησέως αὖτη, τοῦ δὲ Αἰγέως ἀγνοοῦντος, ὄντος δὲ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ φοβουμένου πάντα διὰ τὴν στάσιν, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ὡς ξένον ἑστιῶντα φαρμάκοις ἀνελεῖν. ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ Θησεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστον οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζε φράζειν αὐτόν, ὅστις εἴη, πρότερος, ἐκείνῳ δὲ βουλόμενος ἀρχὴν ἀνευρέσεως παρασχεῖν, κρεῶν παρακειμένων σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, ὡς
3 ταύτῃ τέμνων, ἐδείκνυεν ἐκείνῳ. ταχὺ δὲ καταμαθὼν ὁ Αἰγεύς, τὴν μὲν κύλικα τοῦ φαρμάκου κατέβαλε, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἀνακρίνας ἠσπάζετο, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς πολίτας ἐγνώριζεν, ἡδέως δεχομένους διὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν. λέγεται δὲ τῆς κύλικος πεσούσης ἐκχυθῆναι τὸ φάρμακον ὅπου νῦν ἐν Δελφινίῳ τὸ περίφρακτόν ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Αἰγεὺς ᾤκει, καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν πρὸς ἕω τοῦ ἱεροῦ καλοῦσιν ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις.

XIII. Οἱ δὲ Παλλαντίδαι πρότερον μὲν ἤλπιζον αὐτοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καθέξειν Αἰγέως ἀτέκνου τελευτήσαντος· ἐπεὶ δὲ Θησεὺς ἀπεδείχθη διάδοχος, χαλεπῶς φέροντες εἰ βασιλεύει μὲν Αἰγεὺς θετὸς γενόμενος Πανδίονι καὶ μηδὲν Ἐρεχθείδαις προσήκων, βασιλεύσει δ' ὁ Θησεὺς πάλιν ἔπηλυς
2 ὢν καὶ ξένος, εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταντο. καὶ

who had fled thither from Corinth, and promised by her sorceries to relieve Aegeus of his childlessness, was living with him. She learned about Theseus in advance, and since Aegeus was ignorant of him, and was well on in years and afraid of everything because of the faction in the city, she persuaded him to entertain Theseus as a stranger guest, and take him off by poison. Theseus, accordingly, on coming to the banquet, thought best not to tell in advance who he was, but wishing to give his father a clue to the discovery, when the meats were served, he drew his sword, as if minded to carve with this, and brought it to the notice of his father. Aegeus speedily perceived it, dashed down the proffered cup of poison, and after questioning his son, embraced him, and formally recognized him before an assembly of the citizens, who received him gladly because of his manly valour. And it is said that as the cup fell, the poison was spilled where now is the enclosure in the Delphinium,[1] for that is where the house of Aegeus stood, and the Hermes to the east of the sanctuary is called the Hermes at Aegeus's gate.

XIII. Now the sons of Pallas had before this themselves hoped to gain possession of the kingdom when Aegeus died childless. But when Theseus was declared successor to the throne, exasperated that Aegeus should be king although he was only an adopted son of Pandion and in no way related to the family of Erechtheus, and again that Theseus should be prospective king although he was an immigrant and a stranger, they went to war. And dividing

[1] The site of this sanctuary of the Delphinian Apollo is conjectured to have been somewhere to the east of the Olympieum.

διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν ἐμφανῶς Σφηττόθεν 6
ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, οἱ δὲ
Γαργηττοῖ κρύψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνήδρευον, ὡς
διχόθεν ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. ἦν δὲ
κῆρυξ μετ' αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ Ἀγνούσιος, ὄνομα Λεώς.
οὗτος ἐξήγγειλε τῷ Θησεῖ τὰ βεβουλευμένα τοῖς
3 Παλλαντίδαις. ὁ δὲ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς
ἐνεδρεύουσι πάντας διέφθειρεν· οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ
Πάλλαντος πυθόμενοι διεσπάρησαν. ἐκ τούτου
φασὶ τῷ Παλληνέων δήμῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγνουσίων
ἐπιγαμίαν μὴ εἶναι, μηδὲ κηρύττεσθαι τοὐ-
πιχώριον παρ' αὐτοῖς "Ἀκούετε λεῷ·" μισοῦσι
γὰρ τοὔνομα διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός.

XIV. Ὁ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐνεργὸς εἶναι βουλόμενος,
ἅμα δὲ καὶ δημαγωγῶν, ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μαρα-
θώνιον ταῦρον, οὐκ ὀλίγα πράγματα τοῖς οἰκοῦσι
τὴν Τετράπολιν παρέχοντα· καὶ χειρωσάμενος
ἐπεδείξατο ζῶντα διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐλάσας, εἶτα τῷ
2 Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δελφινίῳ κατέθυσεν. ἡ δὲ
Ἑκάλη καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν μυθολόγημα τοῦ
ξενισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἔοικε μὴ πάσης
ἀμοιρεῖν ἀληθείας. ἔθυον γὰρ Ἑκαλήσια[1] οἱ
πέριξ δῆμοι συνιόντες Ἑκάλῃ Διΐ, καὶ τὴν
Ἑκάλην ἐτίμων, Ἑκαλίνην ὑποκοριζόμενοι διὰ τὸ
κἀκείνην νέον ὄντα κομιδῇ τὸν Θησέα ξενίζουσαν
ἀσπάσασθαι πρεσβυτικῶς καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι

[1] Ἑκαλήσια the correction of Coraës : Ἑκαλήσιον.

themselves into two bands, one of these marched openly against the city from Sphettus with their father; the other hid themselves at Gargettus and lay in ambush there, intending to attack their enemies from two sides. But there was a herald with them, a man of Agnus, by name Leos. This man reported to Theseus the designs of the Pallantidae. Theseus then fell suddenly upon the party lying in ambush, and slew them all. Thereupon the party with Pallas dispersed. This is the reason, they say, why the township of Pallene has no intermarriage with the township of Agnus, and why it will not even allow heralds to make their customary proclamation there of "Akouete leoi" (*Hear, ye people!*). For they hate the word on account of the treachery of the man Leos.

XIV. But Theseus, desiring to be at work, and at the same time courting the favour of the people, went out against the Marathonian bull, which was doing no small mischief to the inhabitants of the Tetrapolis.[1] After he had mastered it, he made a display of driving it alive through the city, and then sacrificed it to the Delphinian Apollo. Now the story of Hecale and her receiving and entertaining Theseus on this expedition seems not to be devoid of all truth. For the people of the townships round about used to assemble and sacrifice the Hecalesia to Zeus Hecalus, and they paid honours to Hecale, calling her by the diminutive name of Hecaline, because she too, when entertaining Theseus, in spite of the fact that he was quite a youth, caressed him as elderly people do, and called

[1] An early name for a district of Attica comprising Marathon and three other adjacent townships.

3 τοιούτοις ὑποκορισμοῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ εὔξατο μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ Διΐ, βαδίζοντος ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, εἰ σῶς παραγένοιτο, θύσειν, ἀπέθανε δὲ πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐπανελθεῖν, ἔσχε τὰς εἰρημένας ἀμοιβὰς τῆς φιλοξενίας τοῦ Θησέως κελεύσαντος, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἱστόρηκεν.

XV. Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἦκον ἐκ Κρήτης τὸ τρίτον οἱ τὸν δασμὸν ἀπάξοντες. ὅτι μὲν οὖν Ἀνδρόγεω περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποθανεῖν δόλῳ δόξαντος, ὅ τε Μίνως πολλὰ κακὰ πολεμῶν εἰργάζετο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν (ἀφορία τε γὰρ καὶ νόσος ἐνέσκηψε πολλὴ καὶ ἀνέδυσαν οἱ ποταμοί), καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος ἱλασαμένοις τὸν Μίνω καὶ διαλλαγεῖσι λωφήσειν τὸ μήνιμα καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἔσεσθαι παῦλαν, ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι καὶ δεηθέντες ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας ὥστε πέμπειν δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν δασμὸν ἠϊθέους ἑπτὰ καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας, ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγρα-
2 φέων· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας εἰς Κρήτην κομιζομένους ὁ μὲν τραγικώτατος μῦθος ἀποφαίνει τὸν Μινώταυρον ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ διαφθείρειν, ἢ πλανωμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ τυχεῖν ἐξόδου μὴ δυναμένους ἐκεῖ καταθνήσκειν, τὸν δὲ Μινώταυρον, ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης φησί,

Σύμμικτον εἶδος κἀποφώλιον βρέφος

γεγονέναι, καὶ

Ταύρου μεμῖχθαι καὶ βροτοῦ διπλῇ φύσει.

him affectionately by such diminutive names. And since she vowed, when the hero was going to his battle with the bull, that she would sacrifice to Zeus if he came back safe, but died before his return, she obtained the above mentioned honours as a return for her hospitality at the command of Theseus, as Philochorus has written.

XV. Not long afterwards there came from Crete for the third time the collectors of the tribute. Now as to this tribute, most writers agree that because Androgeos was thought to have been treacherously killed within the confines of Attica, not only did Minos harass the inhabitants of that country greatly in war,[1] but Heaven also laid it waste, for barrenness and pestilence smote it sorely, and its rivers dried up; also that when their god assured them in his commands that if they appeased Minos and became reconciled to him, the wrath of Heaven would abate and there would be an end of their miseries, they sent heralds and made their supplication and entered into an agreement to send him every nine years a tribute of seven youths and as many maidens. And the most dramatic version of the story declares that these young men and women, on being brought to Crete, were destroyed by the Minotaur in the Labyrinth, or else wandered about at their own will and, being unable to find an exit, perished there; and that the Minotaur, as Euripides says, was

"A mingled form and hybrid birth of monstrous shape,"

and that

"Two different natures, man and bull, were joined in him."[2]

[1] Cf. Plato, *Laws*, p. 706.
[2] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2], p. 680.

XVI. Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν οὐ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν Κρῆτας, ἀλλὰ λέγειν ὅτι φρουρὰ μὲν ἦν ὁ Λαβύρινθος, οὐδὲν ἔχων κακὸν ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς φυλαττομένους, ἀγῶνα δὲ ὁ Μίνως ἐπ' Ἀνδρόγεῳ γυμνικὸν ἐποίει καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἆθλα τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐδίδου τέως ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ φυλαττομένους· ἐνίκα δὲ τοὺς προτέρους ἀγῶνας ὁ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενος τότε καὶ στρατηγῶν, ὄνομα Ταῦρος, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐπιεικὴς καὶ ἥμερος τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερηφάνως καὶ χαλεπῶς προσ-
2 φερόμενος. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Βοττιαίων πολιτείᾳ δῆλός ἐστιν οὐ νομίζων ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνω, ἀλλὰ θητεύοντας ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ καταγηράσκειν· καί ποτε Κρῆτας εὐχὴν παλαιὰν ἀποδιδόντας ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστέλλειν, τοῖς δὲ πεμπομένοις ἀναμιχθέντας ἐκγόνους ἐκείνων συνεξελθεῖν· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ τρέφειν ἑαυτοὺς αὐτόθι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν διαπερᾶσαι 7
κἀκεῖ κατοικεῖν περὶ τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ αὖθις εἰς Θράκην κομισθῆναι καὶ κληθῆναι Βοττιαίους· διὸ τὰς κόρας τῶν Βοττιαίων θυσίαν τινὰ τελούσας ἐπᾴδειν· "Ἴωμεν εἰς Ἀθήνας."

Ἔοικε γὰρ ὄντως χαλεπὸν εἶναι φωνὴν ἐχούσῃ
3 πόλει καὶ μοῦσαν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μίνως ἀεὶ διετέλει κακῶς ἀκούων καὶ λοιδορούμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς θεάτροις, καὶ οὔτε Ἡσίοδος

XVI. Philochorus, however, says that the Cretans do not admit this, but declare that the Labyrinth was a dungeon, with no other inconvenience than that its prisoners could not escape; and that Minos instituted funeral games in honour of Androgeos, and as prizes for the victors, gave these Athenian youth, who were in the meantime imprisoned in the Labyrinth; and that the victor in the first games was the man who had the greatest power at that time under Minos, and was his general, Taurus by name, who was not reasonable and gentle in his disposition, but treated the Athenian youth with arrogance and cruelty. And Aristotle himself also, in his "Constitution of Bottiaea,"[1] clearly does not think that these youths were put to death by Minos, but that they spent the rest of their lives as slaves in Crete. And he says that the Cretans once, in fulfilment of an ancient vow, sent an offering of their first-born to Delphi, and that some descendants of those Athenians were among the victims, and went forth with them; and that when they were unable to support themselves there, they first crossed over into Italy and dwelt in that country round about Iapygia, and from there journeyed again into Thrace and were called Bottiaeans; and that this was the reason why the maidens of Bottiaea, in performing a certain sacrifice, sing as an accompaniment: "To Athens let us go!"

And verily it seems to be a grievous thing for a man to be at enmity with a city which has a language and a literature. For Minos was always abused and reviled in the Attic theatres, and it did not avail him either that Hesiod[2] called him "most

[1] Not extant. [2] In some passage not extant.

αὐτὸν ὤνησε "βασιλεύτατον" οὔτε Ὅμηρος "ὀαριστὴν Διὸς" προσαγορεύσας, ἀλλ' ἐπικρατήσαντες οἱ τραγικοὶ πολλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λογείου καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀδοξίαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν ὡς χαλεποῦ καὶ βιαίου γενομένου. καίτοι φασὶ τὸν μὲν Μίνω βασιλέα καὶ νομοθέτην, δικαστὴν δὲ τὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν εἶναι καὶ φύλακα τῶν ὡρισμένων ὑπ' ἐκείνου δικαίων.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τρίτου δασμοῦ, καὶ παρέχειν ἔδει τοὺς πατέρας ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον οἷς ἦσαν ἠίθεοι παῖδες, αὖθις ἀνεφύοντο τῷ Αἰγεῖ διαβολαὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ὀδυρομένους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας ὅτι πάντων αἴτιος ὢν ἐκεῖνος, οὐδὲν μέρος ἔχει τῆς κολάσεως μόνος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νόθῳ καὶ ξένῳ παιδὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιημένος αὐτοὺς περιορᾷ γνησίων ἐρήμους καὶ
2 ἄπαιδας ἀπολειπομένους. ταῦτ' ἠνία τὸν Θησέα, καὶ δικαιῶν μὴ ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ κοινωνεῖν τῆς τύχης τοῖς πολίταις, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ κλήρου προσελθών. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τό τε φρόνημα θαυμαστὸν ἐφάνη καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἠγάπησαν, ὁ δὲ Αἰγεύς, ἐπεὶ δεόμενος καὶ καθικετεύων ἀμετάπειστον ἑώρα καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτον, ἀπεκλήρωσε τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας.
3 Ἑλλάνικος δέ φησιν οὐ τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπὸ κλήρου καὶ τὰς λαχούσας ἐκπέμπειν τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Μίνω παραγινόμενον ἐκλέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν Θησέα πάντων ἑλέσθαι πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρισθεῖσιν· ὡρισμένον δ' εἶναι τὴν μὲν ναῦν Ἀθηναίους παρέχειν, ἐμβάντας δὲ πλεῖν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἠϊθέους μηδὲν ὅπλον ἀρήϊον ἐπιφερο-

royal," or that Homer [1] styled him "a confidant of Zeus," but the tragic poets prevailed, and from platform and stage showered obloquy down upon him, as a man of cruelty and violence. And yet they say that Minos was a king and lawgiver, and that Rhadamanthus was a judge under him, and a guardian of the principles of justice defined by him.

XVII. Accordingly, when the time came for the third tribute, and it was necessary for the fathers who had youthful sons to present them for the lot, fresh accusations against Aegeus arose among the people, who were full of sorrow and vexation that he who was the cause of all their trouble alone had no share in the punishment, but devolved the kingdom upon a bastard and foreign son, and suffered them to be left destitute and bereft of legitimate children. These things troubled Theseus, who, thinking it right not to disregard but to share in the fortune of his fellow-citizens, came forward and offered himself independently of the lot. The citizens admired his noble courage and were delighted with his public spirit, and Aegeus, when he saw that his son was not to be won over or turned from his purpose by prayers and entreaties, cast the lots for the rest of the youths.

Hellanicus, however, says that the city did not send its young men and maidens by lot, but that Minos himself used to come and pick them out, and that he now pitched upon Theseus first of all, following the terms agreed upon. And he says the agreement was that the Athenians should furnish the ship, and that the youths should embark and sail

[1] *Odyssey*, xix. 179.

μένους, ἀπολομένου δὲ τοῦ Μινωταύρου πέρας ἔχειν τὴν ποινήν. •

4 Πρότερον μὲν οὖν οὐδεμία σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς ὑπέκειτο· διὸ καὶ μέλαν ἱστίον ἔχουσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ προδήλῳ, τὴν ναῦν ἔπεμπον· τότε δὲ τοῦ Θησέως τὸν πατέρα θαρρύνοντος καὶ μεγαληγοροῦντος ὡς χειρώσεται τὸν Μινώταυρον, ἔδωκεν ἕτερον ἱστίον λευκὸν τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, κελεύσας ὑποστρέφοντα σωζομένου τοῦ Θησέως ἐπάρασθαι τὸ λευκόν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ μέλανι πλεῖν καὶ ἀποσημαίνειν τὸ πάθος.

5 Ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης οὐ λευκόν φησιν εἶναι τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀλλὰ "φοινίκεον ἱστίον ὑγρῷ πεφυρμένον πρίνου ἄνθει ἐριθάλλου·" καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι σημεῖον. ἐκυβέρνα δὲ τὴν ναῦν Ἀμαρσυάδας Φέρεκλος,

6 ὥς φησι Σιμωνίδης. Φιλόχορος δὲ παρὰ Σκίρου φησὶν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος τὸν Θησέα λαβεῖν κυβερνήτην μὲν Ναυσίθοον, πρωρέα δὲ Φαίακα, μηδέπω τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσεχόντων τῇ θαλάττῃ· καὶ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἠϊθέων ἕνα Μενέσθην Σκίρου θυγατριδοῦν. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις ἡρῷα Ναυσιθόου καὶ Φαίακος εἱσαμένου Θησέως Φαληροῖ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Σκίρου ἱερῷ,[1] καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τὰ Κυβερνήσια φασιν ἐκείνοις τελεῖσθαι.

XVIII. Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κλήρου παραλαβὼν τοὺς λαχόντας ὁ Θησεὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς Δελφίνιον, ἔθηκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἱκετηρίαν. ἦν δὲ κλάδος ἀπὸ

[1] ἱερῷ bracketed by Bekker (*near that of Scirus*).

with him carrying no warlike weapon, and that if the Minotaur was killed the penalty should cease.

On the two former occasions, then, no hope of safety was entertained, and therefore they sent the ship with a black sail, convinced that their youth were going to certain destruction; but now Theseus encouraged his father and loudly boasted that he would master the Minotaur, so that he gave the pilot another sail, a white one, ordering him, if he returned with Theseus safe, to hoist the white sail, but otherwise to sail with the black one, and so indicate the affliction.

Simonides, however, says[1] that the sail given by Aegeus was not white, but "a scarlet sail dyed with the tender flower of luxuriant holm-oak," and that he made this a token of their safety. Moreover, the pilot of the ship was Phereclus, son of Amarsyas, as Simonides says; but Philochorus says that Theseus got from Scirus of Salamis Nausithoüs for his pilot, and Phaeax for his look-out man, the Athenians at that time not yet being addicted to the sea, and that Scirus did him this favour because one of the chosen youths, Menesthes, was his daughter's son. And there is evidence for this in the memorial chapels for Nausithoüs and Phaeax which Theseus built at Phalerum near the temple of Scirus, and they say that the festival of the Cybernesia, or Pilot's Festival, is celebrated in their honour.

XVIII. When the lot was cast, Theseus took those upon whom it fell from the prytaneium and went to the Delphinium, where he dedicated to Apollo in their behalf his suppliant's badge. This

[1] Fragment 54 (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.[4] p. 413).

τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας, ἐρίῳ λευκῷ κατεστεμμένος. εὐξάμενος δὲ κατέβαινεν ἕκτῃ μηνὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἱσταμένου Μουνυχιῶνος, ἣ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰς κόρας πέμπουσιν ἱλασομένας εἰς Δελφίνιον.
2 λέγεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνελεῖν θεὸν Ἀφροδίτην καθηγεμόνα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ παρα- 8
καλεῖν συνέμπορον, θύοντι δὲ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τὴν αἶγα θήλειαν οὖσαν αὐτομάτως τράγον γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὴν θεὸν Ἐπιτραγίαν.

XIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κρήτην, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσι καὶ ᾄδουσι, παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἐρασθείσης τὸ λίνον λαβών, καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὡς ἔστι τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τοὺς ἑλιγμοὺς διεξελθεῖν, ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μινώταυρον καὶ ἀπέπλευσε τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἠϊθέους. Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐδάφη τῶν Κρητικῶν νεῶν φησιν ἐκκόψαι τὸν Θησέα, τὴν
2 δίωξιν ἀφαιρούμενον. Δήμων δὲ καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ἀναιρεθῆναί φησι τὸν τοῦ Μίνω στρατηγόν, ἐν τῷ λιμένι διαναυμαχοῦντα τοῦ Θησέως ἐκπλέοντος. ὡς δὲ Φιλόχορος ἱστόρηκε, τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ Μίνω συντελοῦντος, ἐπίδοξος ὢν ἅπαντας πάλιν νικήσειν, ὁ Ταῦρος ἐφθονεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἦν ἐπαχθής, καὶ διαβολὴν εἶχεν ὡς τῇ Πασιφάῃ πλησιάζων. διὸ καὶ τοῦ Θησέως ἀξιοῦντος ἀγωνίσασθαι συνε-
3 χώρησεν ὁ Μίνως. ἔθους δὲ ὄντος ἐν Κρήτῃ θεᾶσθαι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἀριάδνη παροῦσα πρός

was a bough from the sacred olive-tree, wreathed with white wool. Having made his vows and prayers, he went down to the sea on the sixth day of the month Munychion, on which day even now the Athenians still send their maidens to the Delphinium to propitiate the god. And it is reported that the god at Delphi commanded him in an oracle to make Aphrodite his guide, and invite her to attend him on his journey, and that as he sacrificed the usual she-goat to her by the sea-shore, it became a he-goat ("tragos") all at once, for which reason the goddess has the surname Epitragia.

XIX. When he reached Crete on his voyage, most historians and poets tell us that he got from Ariadne, who had fallen in love with him, the famous thread, and that having been instructed by her how to make his way through the intricacies of the Labyrinth, he slew the Minotaur and sailed off with Ariadne and the youth. And Pherecydes says that Theseus also staved in the bottoms of the Cretan ships, thus depriving them of the power to pursue. And Demon says also that Taurus, the general of Minos, was killed in a naval battle in the harbour as Theseus was sailing out. But as Philochorus tells the story,[1] Minos was holding the funeral games, and Taurus was expected to conquer all his competitors in them, as he had done before, and was grudged his success. For his disposition made his power hateful, and he was accused of too great intimacy with Pasiphaë. Therefore when Theseus asked the privilege of entering the lists, it was granted him by Minos. And since it was the custom in Crete for women to view the games, Ariadne was present, and was

[1] Cf. chapter xvi. 1.

τε τὴν ὄψιν ἐξεπλάγη τοῦ Θησέως καὶ τὴν ἄθλησιν ἐθαύμασε πάντων κρατήσαντος· ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μίνως μάλιστα τοῦ Ταύρου καταπαλαισθέντος καὶ προπηλακισθέντος, ἀπέδωκε τῷ Θησεῖ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἀνῆκε τῇ πόλει τὸν δασμόν.

4 Ἰδίως δέ πως καὶ περιττῶς ὁ Κλείδημος ἀπήγγειλε περὶ τούτων, ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἀρξάμενος, ὅτι δόγμα κοινὸν ἦν Ἑλλήνων μηδεμίαν ἐκπλεῖν τριήρη μηδαμόθεν ἀνδρῶν πέντε πλείονας δεχομένην· τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα τῆς Ἀργοῦς Ἰάσονα μόνον περιπλεῖν[1] ἐξείργοντα τῆς θαλάττης τὰ λῃστήρια. Δαιδάλου δὲ πλοίῳ φυγόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας, Μίνως παρὰ τὰ δόγματα μακραῖς ναυσὶ διώκων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπηνέχθη κἀκεῖ κατέ-
5 στρεψε τὸν βίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δευκαλίων ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πολεμικῶς ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν, ἐκδιδόναι Δαίδαλον αὐτῷ κελεύων ἢ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλῶν οὓς ἔλαβεν ὁμήρους ὁ Μίνως, τούτῳ μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πράως ὁ Θησεύς, παραιτούμενος ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα Δαίδαλον κἀκείνῳ κατὰ γένος προσήκοντα, μητρὸς ὄντα Μερόπης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως, αὐτὸς δὲ ναυπηγίαν ἐπεβάλετο, τὴν μὲν ἐν Θυμαιταδῶν αὐτόθι μα-
6 κρὰν τῆς ξενικῆς ὁδοῦ, τὴν δὲ διὰ Πιτθέως ἐν Τροιζῆνι, βουλόμενος λανθάνειν. γενομένων δὲ ἑτοίμων ἐξέπλευσε τόν τε Δαίδαλον ἔχων καὶ φυγάδας ἐκ Κρήτης καθηγεμόνας· οὐδενὸς δὲ

[1] περιπλεῖν Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna after this word. A Bodleian MS. (B^a) has τριήρει πλήρει ἀνδρῶν ἱκανῶν (*with a trireme fully manned*).

smitten with the appearance of Theseus, as well as filled with admiration for his athletic prowess, when he conquered all his opponents. Minos also was delighted with him, especially because he conquered Taurus in wrestling and disgraced him, and therefore gave back the youths to Theseus, besides remitting its tribute to the city.

Cleidemus, however, gives a rather peculiar and ambitious account of these matters, beginning a great way back. There was, he says, a general Hellenic decree that no trireme should sail from any port with a larger crew than five men, and the only exception was Jason, the commander of the Argo, who sailed about scouring the sea of pirates. Now when Daedalus fled from Crete in a merchant-vessel to Athens, Minos, contrary to the decrees, pursued him with his ships of war, and was driven from his course by a tempest to Sicily, where he ended his life.[1] And when Deucalion, his son, who was on hostile terms with the Athenians, sent to them a demand that they deliver up Daedalus to him, and threatened, if they refused, to put to death the youth whom Minos had received from them as hostages, Theseus made him a gentle reply, declining to surrender Daedalus, who was his kinsman and cousin, being the son of Merope, the daughter of Erechtheus. But privately he set himself to building a fleet, part of it at home in the township of Thymoetadae, far from the public road, and part of it under the direction of Pittheus in Troezen, wishing his purpose to remain concealed. When his ships were ready, he set sail, taking Daedalus and exiles from Crete as his guides, and since none

[1] Cf. Herodotus, vii. 170; Diodorus, iv. 79.

προειδότος, ἀλλὰ ναῦς φιλίας οἰομένων τῶν Κρητῶν προσφέρεσθαι, τοῦ λιμένος κρατήσας καὶ ἀποβὰς ἔφθασεν εἰς τὴν Κνωσσὸν παρελθών· καὶ μάχην ἐν πύλαις τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Δευκαλίωνα καὶ τοὺς
7 δορυφόρους. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς Ἀριάδνης γενομένης, σπεισάμενος πρὸς αὐτὴν τούς τε ἠϊθέους ἀνέλαβε καὶ φιλίαν ἐποίησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς τοὺς Κρῆτας, ὁμόσαντας μηδέποτε πολέμου κατάρξειν.

XX. Πολλοὶ δὲ λόγοι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔτι λέγονται καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀριάδνης, οὐδὲν ὁμολογούμενον ἔχοντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπάγξασθαί φασιν αὐτὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θησέως, οἱ δὲ εἰς Νάξον ὑπὸ ναυτῶν κομισθεῖσαν Οἰνάρῳ τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διονύσου συνοικεῖν, ἀπολειφθῆναι δὲ τοῦ Θησέως ἐρῶντος ἑτέρας·

Δεινὸς γάρ μιν ἔτειρεν ἔρως Πανοπηΐδος Αἴγλης.

2 τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἔπος ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου Πεισίστρατον ἐξελεῖν φησιν Ἡρέας ὁ Μεγαρεύς, ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου νέκυιαν τὸ

Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε θεῶν ἀριδείκετα τέκνα, 9

χαριζόμενον Ἀθηναίοις· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τεκεῖν ἐκ Θησέως Ἀριάδνην Οἰνοπίωνα καὶ Στάφυλον· ὧν καὶ ὁ Χῖος Ἴων ἐστὶ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος λέγων·

Τήν ποτε Θησείδης ἔκτισεν Οἰνοπίων.

of the Cretans knew of his design, but thought the approaching ships to be friendly, Theseus made himself master of the harbour, disembarked his men, and got to Gnossus before his enemies were aware of his approach. Then joining battle with them at the gate of the Labyrinth, he slew Deucalion and his body-guard. And since Ariadne was now at the head of affairs, he made a truce with her, received back the youthful hostages, and established friendship between the Athenians and the Cretans, who took oath never to begin hostilities.

XX. There are many other stories about these matters, and also about Ariadne, but they do not agree at all. Some say that she hung herself because she was abandoned by Theseus; others that she was conveyed to Naxos by sailors and there lived with Oenarus the priest of Dionysus, and that she was abandoned by Theseus because he loved another woman:—

"Dreadful indeed was his passion for Aigle child of Panopeus."[1]

This verse Peisistratus expunged from the poems of Hesiod, according to Hereas the Megarian, just as, on the other hand, he inserted into the Inferno of Homer the verse:—

"Theseus, Peirithous, illustrious children of Heaven,"[2]

and all to gratify the Athenians. Moreover, some say that Ariadne actually had sons by Theseus, Oenopion and Staphylus, and among these is Ion of Chios, who says of his own native city:—

"This, once, Theseus's son founded, Oenopion."[3]

[1] Cf. Athenaeus, p. 557 a.
[2] *Odyssey*, xi. 631.
[3] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* ii.[4] p. 254.

Ἃ δ' ἐστὶν εὐφημότατα τῶν μυθολογουμένων, πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διὰ στόματος ἔχουσιν. ἴδιον δέ τινα περὶ τούτων λόγον ἐκδέδωκε Παίων
3 ὁ Ἀμαθούσιος. τὸν γὰρ Θησέα φησὶν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εἰς Κύπρον ἐξενεχθέντα καὶ τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἔγκυον ἔχοντα, φαύλως δὲ διακειμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ σάλου καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν, ἐκβιβάσαι μόνην, αὐτὸν δὲ τῷ πλοίῳ βοηθοῦντα πάλιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φέρεσθαι. τὰς οὖν ἐγχωρίους γυναῖκας τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ περιέπειν ἀθυμοῦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ μονώσει, καὶ γράμματα πλαστὰ προσφέρειν, ὡς τοῦ Θησέως γράφοντος αὐτῇ, καὶ περὶ τὴν ὠδῖνα συμπονεῖν καὶ βοηθεῖν· ἀπο-
4 θανοῦσαν δὲ θάψαι μὴ τεκοῦσαν. ἐπελθόντα δὲ τὸν Θησέα καὶ περίλυπον γενόμενον τοῖς μὲν ἐγχωρίοις ἀπολιπεῖν χρήματα, συντάξαντα θύειν τῇ Ἀριάδνῃ, δύο δὲ μικροὺς ἀνδριαντίσκους ἱδρύσασθαι, τὸν μὲν ἀργυροῦν, τὸν δὲ χαλκοῦν. ἐν δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ἱσταμένου δευτέρᾳ κατακλινόμενόν τινα τῶν νεανίσκων φθέγγεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν ἅπερ ὠδίνουσαι γυναῖκες· καλεῖν δὲ τὸ ἄλσος Ἀμαθουσίους, ἐν ᾧ τὸν τάφον δεικνύουσιν, Ἀριάδνης Ἀφροδίτης.

5 Καὶ Ναξίων δέ τινες ἰδίως ἱστοροῦσι δύο Μίνωας γενέσθαι καὶ δύο Ἀριάδνας, ὧν τὴν μὲν Διονύσῳ γαμηθῆναί φασιν ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Στάφυλον τεκεῖν, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν ἁρπασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θησέως καὶ ἀπολειφθεῖσαν εἰς Νάξον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τροφὸν μετ' αὐτῆς ὄνομα

Now the most auspicious of these legendary tales are in the mouths of all men, as I may say; but a very peculiar account of these matters is published by Paeon the Amathusian. He says that Theseus, driven out of his course by a storm to Cyprus, and having with him Ariadne, who was big with child and in sore sickness and distress from the tossing of the sea, set her on shore alone, but that he himself, while trying to succour the ship, was borne out to sea again. The women of the island, accordingly, took Ariadne into their care, and tried to comfort her in the discouragement caused by her loneliness, brought her forged letters purporting to have been written to her by Theseus, ministered to her aid during the pangs of travail, and gave her burial when she died before her child was born. Paeon says further that Theseus came back, and was greatly afflicted, and left a sum of money with the people of the island, enjoining them to sacrifice to Ariadne, and caused two little statuettes to be set up in her honour, one of silver, and one of bronze. He says also that at the sacrifice in her honour on the second day of the month Gorpiaeus, one of their young men lies down and imitates the cries and gestures of women in travail; and that they call the grove in which they show her tomb, the grove of Ariadne Aphrodite.

Some of the Naxians also have a story of their own, that there were two Minoses and two Ariadnes, one of whom, they say, was married to Dionysus in Naxos and bore him Staphylus and his brother, and the other, of a later time, having been carried off by Theseus and then abandoned by him, came to Naxos, accompanied by a nurse named Corcyne,

Κορκύνην, ἧς δείκνυσθαι τάφον. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀριάδνην αὐτόθι καὶ τιμὰς ἔχειν οὐχ ὁμοίας τῇ προτέρᾳ. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἡδομένους καὶ παίζοντας ἑορτάζειν, τὰς δὲ ταύτῃ δρωμένας θυσίας εἶναι πένθει τινὶ καὶ στυγνότητι μεμιγμένας.

XXI. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἀποπλέων εἰς Δῆλον κατέσχε· καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας καὶ ἀναθεὶς τὸ ἀφροδίσιον ὃ παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἔλαβεν, ἐχόρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἡϊθέων χορείαν ἣν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλίους λέγουσι, μίμημα τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων, ἔν τινι ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην. 2 καλεῖται δὲ τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῆς χορείας ὑπὸ Δηλίων γέρανος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος. ἐχόρευσε δὲ περὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα βωμόν, ἐκ κεράτων συνηρμοσμένον εὐωνύμων ἁπάντων. ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνά φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν Δήλῳ, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσι τότε πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνου φοίνικα δοθῆναι.

XXII. Τῇ δὲ Ἀττικῇ προσφερομένων ἐκλαθέσθαι μὲν αὐτόν, ἐκλαθέσθαι δὲ τὸν κυβερνήτην ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐπάρασθαι τὸ ἱστίον ᾧ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν ἔδει γνώριμον τῷ Αἰγεῖ γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ ἀπογνόντα ῥῖψαι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας ἑαυτὸν καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. καταπλεύσας δὲ ὁ Θησεὺς ἔθυε μὲν αὐτὸς ἃς ἐκπλέων θυσίας εὔξατο τοῖς θεοῖς Φαληροῖ, κήρυκα δὲ ἀπέστειλε τῆς σωτη- 2 ρίας ἄγγελον εἰς ἄστυ. οὗτος ἐνέτυχεν ὀδυρομένοις τε πολλοῖς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν καὶ χαίρουσιν, ὡς εἰκός, ἑτέροις καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι

whose tomb they show; and that this Ariadne also died there, and has honours paid her unlike those of the former, for the festival of the first Ariadne is celebrated with mirth and revels, but the sacrifices performed in honour of the second are attended with sorrow and mourning.

XXI. On his voyage from Crete, Theseus put in at Delos, and having sacrificed to the god and dedicated in his temple the image of Aphrodite which he had received from Ariadne, he danced with his youths a dance which they say is still performed by the Delians, being an imitation of the circling passages in the Labyrinth, and consisting of certain rhythmic involutions and evolutions. This kind of dance, as Dicaearchus tells us, is called by the Delians The Crane, and Theseus danced it round the altar called Keraton, which is constructed of horns ("kerata") taken entirely from the left side of the head. They say that he also instituted athletic contests in Delos, and that the custom was then begun by him of giving a palm to the victors.

XXII. It is said, moreover, that as they drew nigh the coast of Attica, Theseus himself forgot, and his pilot forgot, such was their joy and exultation, to hoist the sail which was to have been the token of their safety to Aegeus, who therefore, in despair, threw himself down from the rock and was dashed in pieces. But Theseus, putting in to shore, sacrificed in person the sacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at Phalerum when he set sail, and then dispatched a herald to the city to announce his safe return. The messenger found many of the people bewailing the death of their king, and others full of joy at his tidings, as was natural, and eager to welcome him

καὶ στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ προθύμοις οὖσι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν στεφάνους δεχόμενος τὸ κηρύκειον ἀνέστεφεν, ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν οὔπω πεποιημένου σπονδὰς τοῦ Θησέως ἔξω περιέμεινε, μὴ βουλόμενος τὴν θυσίαν ταρά-
3 ξαι. γενομένων δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν ἀπήγγειλε τὴν τοῦ Αἰγέως τελευτήν. οἱ δὲ σὺν κλαυθμῷ καὶ 10
θορύβῳ σπεύδοντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ὠσχοφορίοις στεφανοῦσθαι μὲν οὐ τὸν κήρυκα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κηρύκειον, ἐπιφωνεῖν δὲ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, Ἐλελεῦ, Ἰού, Ἰού, τοὺς παρόντας· ὧν τὸ μὲν σπεύδοντες ἀναφωνεῖν καὶ παιωνίζοντες εἰώθασι, τὸ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως καὶ ταραχῆς ἐστι.

4 Θάψας δὲ τὸν πατέρα, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπεδίδου τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τοῦ Πυανεψιῶνος μηνὸς ἱσταμένου· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀνέβησαν εἰς ἄστυ σωθέντες. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἔψησις τῶν ὀσπρίων λέγεται γίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ σωθέντας αὐτοὺς εἰς ταὐτὸ συμμῖξαι τὰ περιόντα τῶν σιτίων καὶ μίαν χύτραν κοινὴν ἑψήσαντας συνεστιαθῆναι καὶ
5 συγκαταφαγεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τὴν δὲ εἰρεσιώνην ἐκφέρουσι κλάδον ἐλαίας ἐρίῳ μὲν ἀνεστεμμένον, ὥσπερ τότε τὴν ἱκετηρίαν, παντοδαπῶν δὲ ἀνάπλεων καταργμάτων διὰ τὸ λῆξαι τὴν ἀφορίαν, ἐπᾴδοντες·

and crown him with garlands for his good news. The garlands, then, he accepted, and twined them about his herald's staff, and on returning to the sea-shore, finding that Theseus had not yet made his libations to the gods, remained outside the sacred precincts, not wishing to disturb the sacrifice. But when the libations were made, he announced the death of Aegeus. Thereupon, with tumultuous lamentation, they went up in haste to the city. Whence it is, they say, that to this day, at the festival of the Oschophoria,[1] it is not the herald that is crowned, but his herald's staff, and those who are present at the libations cry out: "Eleleu! Iou! Iou!" the first of which cries is the exclamation of eager haste and triumph, the second of consternation and confusion.

After burying his father, Theseus paid his vows to Apollo on the seventh day of the month Pyanepsion; for on that day they had come back to the city in safety. Now the custom of boiling all sorts of pulse on that day is said to have arisen from the fact that the youths who were brought safely back by Theseus put what was left of their provisions into one mess, boiled it in one common pot, feasted upon it, and ate it all up together. At that feast they also carry the so-called "eiresione," which is a bough of olive wreathed with wool, such as Theseus used at the time of his supplication, and laden with all sorts of fruit-offerings, to signify that scarcity was at an end, and as they go they sing:—

[1] A vintage festival, during which branches of the vine with grapes upon them (ὄσχοι) were borne in procession from Athens to Phalerum. See chapter xxiii. 2.

Εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρει καὶ πίονας ἄρτους
καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον ἀποψήσασθαι
καὶ κύλικ' εὔζωρον, ὡς ἂν μεθύουσα καθεύδῃ.

καίτοι ταῦτά τινες ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις γίνεσθαι λέγουσιν, οὕτως διατρεφομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· οἱ δὲ πλείονες ὡς προείρηται.

XXIII. Τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τῶν ἠϊθέων ἔπλευσε καὶ πάλιν ἐσώθη, τὴν τριακόντορον, ἄχρι τῶν Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως χρόνων διεφύλαττον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τῶν ξύλων ὑφαιροῦντες, ἄλλα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντες ἰσχυρὰ καὶ συμπηγνύντες οὕτως ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις εἰς τὸν αὐξόμενον λόγον ἀμφιδοξούμενον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτό, τῶν δὲ ὡς οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένοι λεγόντων.

2 Ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὠσχοφορίων ἑορτὴν Θησέως καταστήσαντος. οὐ γὰρ ἁπάσας αὐτὸν ἐξαγαγεῖν τὰς λαχούσας τότε παρθένους, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνήθων νεανίσκων δύο θηλυφανεῖς μὲν ὀφθῆναι καὶ νεαρούς, ἀνδρώδεις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ προθύμους, λουτροῖς τε θερμοῖς καὶ σκιατραφίαις καὶ ταῖς περὶ κόμην καὶ λειότητα καὶ χροιὰν ἀλοιφαῖς καὶ κοσμήσεσιν ὡς ἔστιν ἐξαλλάξαντα κομιδῇ, καὶ διδάξαντα φωνὴν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ

"Eiresione for us brings figs and bread of the richest,
Brings us honey in pots and oil to rub off from the body,
Strong wine too in a beaker, that one may go to bed mellow."

Some writers, however, say that these rites are in memory of the Heracleidae,[1] who were maintained in this manner by the Athenians; but most put the matter as I have done.

XXIII. The ship on which Theseus sailed with the youths and returned in safety, the thirty-oared galley, was preserved by the Athenians down to the time of Demetrius Phalereus.[2] They took away the old timbers from time to time, and put new and sound ones in their places, so that the vessel became a standing illustration for the philosophers in the mooted question of growth, some declaring that it remained the same, others that it was not the same vessel.

It was Theseus who instituted also the Athenian festival of the Oschophoria. For it is said that he did not take away with him all the maidens on whom the lot fell at that time, but picked out two young men of his acquaintance who had fresh and girlish faces, but eager and manly spirits, and changed their outward appearance almost entirely by giving them warm baths and keeping them out of the sun, by arranging their hair, and by smoothing their skin and beauti-

[1] On the death of Heracles, his children, to escape the wrath of the tyrant Eurystheus, came as suppliants to Athens, bearing branches in their hands. See the *Heracleidae* of Euripides.

[2] Regent of Athens for Cassander of Macedon, 317–307 B.C. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, p. 58.

βάδισιν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα παρθένοις ὁμοιοῦσθαι καὶ μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι διαφέροντας, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν τῶν παρθένων ἀριθμὸν καὶ διαλαθεῖν ἅπαντας·
3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν, αὐτόν τε πομπεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους οὕτως ἀμπεχομένους ὡς νῦν ἀμπέχονται τοὺς ὀσχοὺς φέροντες. φέρουσι δὲ Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀριάδνῃ χαριζόμενοι διὰ τὸν μῦθον, ἢ μᾶλλον ὅτι συγκομιζομένης ὀπώρας ἐπανῆλθον· αἱ δὲ δειπνοφόροι παραλαμβάνονται καὶ κοινωνοῦσι τῆς θυσίας ἀπομιμούμεναι τὰς μητέρας ἐκείνων τῶν λαχόντων· ἐπεφοίτων γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὄψα καὶ σιτία κομίζουσαι· καὶ μῦθοι λέγονται διὰ τὸ κἀκείνας εὐθυμίας ἕνεκα καὶ παρηγορίας μύθους διεξιέναι τοῖς παισί. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ Δήμων ἱστόρηκεν. ἐξηρέθη δὲ καὶ τέμενος αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν παρασχόντων τὸν δασμὸν οἴκων ἔταξεν εἰς θυσίαν αὐτῷ τελεῖν ἀποφοράς· καὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐπεμελοῦντο Φυταλίδαι, Θησέως ἀποδόντος αὐτοῖς ἀμοιβὴν τῆς φιλοξενίας.

XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰγέως τελευτὴν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος συνῴκισε τοὺς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατοικοῦντας εἰς ἓν ἄστυ, καὶ μιᾶς πόλεως ἕνα δῆμον ἀπέφηνε, τέως σποράδας ὄντας καὶ δυσανακλήτους πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πάντων

fying their complexions with unguents; he also taught them to imitate maidens as closely as possible in their speech, their dress, and their gait, and to leave no difference that could be observed, and then enrolled them among the maidens who were going to Crete, and was undiscovered by any. And when he was come back, he himself and these two young men headed a procession, arrayed as those are now arrayed who carry the vine-branches. They carry these in honour of Dionysus and Ariadne, and because of their part in the story; or rather, because they came back home at the time of the vintage. And the women called Deipnophoroi, or *supper-carriers*, take part in the procession and share in the sacrifice, in imitation of the mothers of the young men and maidens on whom the lot fell, for these kept coming with bread and meat for their children. And tales are told at this festival, because these mothers, for the sake of comforting and encouraging their children, spun out tales for them. At any rate, these details are to be found in the history of Demon. Furthermore, a sacred precinct was also set apart for Theseus, and he ordered the members of the families which had furnished the tribute to the Minotaur to make contributions towards a sacrifice to himself. This sacrifice was superintended by the Phytalidae, and Theseus thus repaid them for their hospitality.[1]

XXIV. After the death of Aegeus, Theseus conceived a wonderful design, and settled all the residents of Attica in one city, thus making one people of one city out of those who up to that time had been scattered about and were not easily called together for the common interests of all, nay, they

[1] Cf. chapter xii. 1.

συμφέρον, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ διαφερομένους ἀλλήλοις
2 καὶ πολεμοῦντας. ἐπιὼν οὖν ἀνέπειθε κατὰ 11
δήμους καὶ γένη, τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πενήτων
ἐνδεχομένων ταχὺ τὴν παράκλησιν αὐτοῦ, τοῖς
δὲ δυνατοῖς ἀβασίλευτον πολιτείαν προτείνων
καὶ δημοκρατίαν αὐτῷ μόνον ἄρχοντι πολέμου
καὶ νόμων φύλακι χρησομένην, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
3 παρέξουσαν ἅπασιν ἰσομοιρίαν. τοὺς μὲν [1]
ταῦτα ἔπειθεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ δεδιότες
μεγάλην οὖσαν ἤδη καὶ τὴν τόλμαν, ἐβούλοντο
πειθόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν.
καταλύσας οὖν τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις πρυτανεῖα καὶ
βουλευτήρια καὶ ἀρχάς, ἓν δὲ ποιήσας ἅπασι
κοινὸν ἐνταῦθα πρυτανεῖον καὶ βουλευτήριον
ὅπου νῦν ἵδρυται τὸ ἄστυ, τήν τε πόλιν Ἀθήνας
προσηγόρευσε καὶ Παναθήναια θυσίαν ἐποίησε
4 κοινήν. ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ Μετοίκια τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ
δέκα τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἣν ἔτι νῦν θύουσι.
καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφείς, ὥσπερ ὡμολόγησε,
διεκόσμει τὴν πολιτείαν ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρχόμενος·
ἦκε γὰρ αὐτῷ χρησμὸς ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντευομένῳ
περὶ τῆς πόλεως·

5 Αἰγείδη Θησεῦ, Πιτθηΐδος ἔκγονε κούρης,
πολλαῖς τοι πολίεσσι πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐγκατέθηκε
τέρματα καὶ κλωστῆρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πτολιέθρῳ.
ἀλλὰ σὺ μή τι λίην πεπονημένος ἔνδοθι θυμὸν
βουλεύειν· ἀσκὸς γὰρ ἐν οἴδματι ποντοπορεύσει.

[1] ἰσομοιρίαν. τοὺς μὲν with Coraës and Bekker: ἰσομοιρίαν, τοὺς μέν.

sometimes actually quarrelled and fought with each other. He visited them, then, and tried to win them over to his project township by township and clan by clan. The common folk and the poor quickly answered to his summons; to the powerful he promised government without a king and a democracy, in which he should only be commander in war and guardian of the laws, while in all else everyone should be on an equal footing. Some he readily persuaded to this course, and others, fearing his power, which was already great, and his boldness, chose to be persuaded rather than forced to agree to it. Accordingly, after doing away with the town-halls and council-chambers and magistracies in the several communities, and after building a common town-hall and council-chamber for all on the ground where the upper town of the present day stands, he named the city Athens, and instituted a Panathenaic festival. He instituted also the Metoecia, or Festival of Settlement, on the sixteenth day of the month Hecatombaeon, and this is still celebrated. Then, laying aside the royal power, as he had agreed, he proceeded to arrange the government, and that too with the sanction of the gods. For an oracle came to him from Delphi, in answer to his enquiries about the city, as follows:—

"Theseus, offspring of Aegeus, son of the daughter of Pittheus,
Many indeed the cities to which my father has given
Bounds and future fates within your citadel's confines.
Therefore be not dismayed, but with firm and confident spirit
Counsel only; the bladder will traverse the sea and its surges."

τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Σίβυλλαν ὕστερον ἀποστοματίσαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἱστοροῦσιν, ἀναφθεγξαμένην·

Ἀσκὸς βαπτίζῃ· δῦναι δέ τοι οὐ θέμις ἐστίν.

XXV. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξῆσαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος ἐκάλει πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις, καὶ τὸ "Δεῦρ' ἴτε πάντες λεῴ" κήρυγμα Θησέως γενέσθαι φασὶ πανδημίαν τινὰ καθιστάντος. οὐ μὴν ἄτακτον οὐδὲ μεμιγμένην περιεῖδεν ὑπὸ πλήθους ἐπιχυθέντος ἀκρίτου γενομένην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος ἀποκρίνας χωρὶς εὐπατρίδας καὶ
2 γεωμόρους καὶ δημιουργούς, εὐπατρίδαις δὲ γινώσκειν τὰ θεῖα καὶ παρέχειν ἄρχοντας ἀποδοὺς καὶ νόμων διδασκάλους εἶναι καὶ ὁσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγητάς, τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ὥσπερ εἰς ἴσον κατέστησε, δόξῃ μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, χρείᾳ δὲ γεωμόρων, πλήθει δὲ δημιουργῶν ὑπερέχειν δοκούντων. ὅτι δὲ πρῶτος ἀπέκλινε πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, καὶ ἀφῆκε τὸ μοναρχεῖν, ἔοικε μαρτυρεῖν καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ μόνους Ἀθηναίους δῆμον προσαγορεύσας.
3 Ἔκοψε δὲ καὶ νόμισμα, βοῦν ἐγχαράξας, ἢ διὰ τὸν Μαραθώνιον ταῦρον, ἢ διὰ τὸν Μίνω στρατηγόν, ἢ πρὸς γεωργίαν τοὺς πολίτας παρακαλῶν. ἀπ' ἐκείνου δέ φασι τὸ ἑκατόμβοιον καὶ τὸ δεκάβοιον ὀνομασθῆναι. προσκτησάμενος δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὴν Μεγαρικὴν βεβαίως, τὴν θρυλουμένην

And this oracle they say the Sibyl afterwards repeated to the city, when she cried :—

"Bladder may be submerged; but its sinking will not be permitted."

XXV. Desiring still further to enlarge the city, he invited all men thither on equal terms, and the phrase "Come hither all ye people," they say was a proclamation of Theseus when he established a people, as it were, of all sorts and conditions. However, he did not suffer his democracy to become disordered or confused from an indiscriminate multitude streaming into it, but was the first to separate the people into noblemen and husbandmen and handicraftsmen. To the noblemen he committed the care of religious rites, the supply of magistrates, the teaching of the laws, and the interpretation of the will of Heaven, and for the rest of the citizens he established a balance of privilege, the noblemen being thought to excel in dignity, the husbandmen in usefulness, and the handicraftsmen in numbers. And that he was the first to show a leaning towards the multitude, as Aristotle says, and gave up his absolute rule, seems to be the testimony of Homer also, in the Catalogue of Ships,[1] where he speaks of the Athenians alone as a "people."

He also coined money, and stamped it with the effigy of an ox, either in remembrance of the Marathonian bull, or of Taurus, the general of Minos, or because he would invite the citizens to agriculture. From this coinage, they say, "ten oxen" and "a hundred oxen" came to be used as terms of valuation. Having attached the territory of Megara securely to

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 547.

ἐν Ἰσθμῷ στήλην ἔστησεν, ἐπιγράψας τὸ διορίζον ἐπίγραμμα τὴν χώραν δυσὶ τριμέτροις, ὧν ἔφραζε τὸ[1] μὲν πρὸς ἕω

Τάδ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος, ἀλλ' Ἰωνία·

τὸ[1] δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν

Τάδ' ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐκ Ἰωνία.

4 καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτος ἔθηκε κατὰ ζῆλον Ἡρακλέους, ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον Ὀλύμπια τῷ Διΐ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν Ἴσθμια τῷ Ποσειδῶνι φιλοτιμηθεὶς ἄγειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ τεθεὶς αὐτόθι νυκτὸς ἐδρᾶτο, τελετῆς ἔχων μᾶλλον ἢ θέας καὶ πανηγυρισμοῦ τάξιν. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐπὶ Σκείρωνι τὰ Ἴσθμια τεθῆναι, τοῦ Θησέως ἀφοσιουμένου τὸν φόνον διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν· Σκείρωνα γὰρ υἱὸν εἶναι Κανήθου καὶ Ἡνιόχης τῆς Πιτθέως.
5 οἱ δὲ Σίνιν, οὐ Σκείρωνα, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τεθῆναι διὰ τοῦτον ὑπὸ Θησέως, οὐ δι' ἐκεῖνον. ἔταξεν οὖν καὶ διωρίσατο πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Ἀθηναίων 12
τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἐπὶ τὰ Ἴσθμια παρέχειν προεδρίαν ὅσον ἂν τόπον ἐπίσχῃ καταπετασθὲν τὸ τῆς θεωρίδος νεὼς ἱστίον, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἄνδρων ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεὺς ἱστορήκασιν.

[1] τὸ μὲν, τὸ δὲ with Coraës, after Reiske : τὰ μὲν, τὰ δέ.

Attica, he set up that famous pillar on the Isthmus, and carved upon it the inscription giving the territorial boundaries. It consisted of two trimeters, of which the one towards the east declared:—

"Here is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia;"

and the one towards the west:—

"Here is the Peloponnesus, not Ionia."

He also instituted the games here, in emulation of Heracles, being ambitious that as the Hellenes, by that hero's appointment, celebrated Olympian games in honour of Zeus, so by his own appointment they should celebrate Isthmian games in honour of Poseidon. For the games already instituted there in honour of Melicertes were celebrated in the night, and had the form of a religious rite rather than of a spectacle and public assembly. But some say that the Isthmian games were instituted in memory of Sciron, and that Theseus thus made expiation for his murder, because of the relationship between them; for Sciron was a son of Canethus and Henioche, who was the daughter of Pittheus. And others have it that Sinis, not Sciron, was their son, and that it was in his honour rather that the games were instituted by Theseus. However that may be, Theseus made a formal agreement with the Corinthians that they should furnish Athenian visitors to the Isthmian games with a place of honour as large as could be covered by the sail of the state galley which brought them thither, when it was stretched to its full extent. So Hellanicus and Andron of Halicarnassus tell us.

XXVI. Εἰς δὲ τὸν πόντον ἔπλευσε τὸν Εὔξεινον, ὡς μὲν Φιλόχορος καί τινες ἄλλοι λέγουσι, μεθ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας συστρατεύσας, καὶ γέρας[1] Ἀντιόπην ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ πλείους, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Φερεκύδης καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἡρόδωρος, ὕστερόν φασιν Ἡρακλέους ἰδιόστολον πλεῦσαι τὸν Θησέα καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα λαβεῖν αἰχμάλωτον, πιθανώτερα λέγοντες. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄλλος ἱστόρηται τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευσάντων
2 Ἀμαζόνα λαβεῖν αἰχμάλωτον. Βίων δὲ καὶ ταύτην παρακρουσάμενον οἴχεσθαι λαβόντα· φύσει γὰρ οὔσας τὰς Ἀμαζόνας φιλάνδρους οὔτε φυγεῖν τὸν Θησέα προσβάλλοντα τῇ χώρᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένια πέμπειν· τὸν δὲ τὴν κομίζουσαν ἐμβῆναι παρακαλεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον· ἐμβάσης δὲ ἀναχθῆναι.

Μενεκράτης δέ τις, ἱστορίαν περὶ Νικαίας τῆς ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ πόλεως ἐκδεδωκώς, Θησέα φησὶ τὴν Ἀντιόπην ἔχοντα διατρῖψαι περὶ τούτους τοὺς
3 τόπους· τυγχάνειν δὲ συστρατεύοντας αὐτῷ τρεῖς νεανίσκους ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλων, Εὔνεων καὶ Θόαντα καὶ Σολόεντα. τοῦτον οὖν ἐρῶντα τῆς Ἀντιόπης καὶ λανθάνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξειπεῖν πρὸς ἕνα τῶν συνήθων· ἐκείνου δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐντυχόντος τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ, τὴν μὲν πεῖραν ἰσχυρῶς ἀποτρίψασθαι, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα σωφρόνως ἅμα καὶ πράως ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θησέα μὴ
4 κατηγορῆσαι. τοῦ δὲ Σολόεντος ὡς ἀπέγνω ῥίψαντος ἑαυτὸν εἰς ποταμόν τινα καὶ διαφθαρέντος, ᾐσθημένον τότε τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ

[1] γέρας with Cobet ; γέρας ἀριστεῖον MSS., Coraës, Bekker ; γέρας ἀριστειῶν.

XXVI. He also made a voyage into the Euxine Sea, as Philochorus and sundry others say, on a campaign with Heracles against the Amazons, and received Antiope as a reward of his valour; but the majority of writers, including Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Herodorus, say that Theseus made this voyage on his own account, after the time of Heracles, and took the Amazon captive; and this is the more probable story. For it is not recorded that any one else among those who shared his expedition took an Amazon captive. And Bion says that even this Amazon he took and carried off by means of a stratagem. The Amazons, he says, were naturally friendly to men, and did not fly from Theseus when he touched upon their coasts, but actually sent him presents, and he invited the one who brought them to come on board his ship; she came on board, and he put out to sea.

And a certain Menecrates, who published a history of the Bithynian city of Nicaea, says that Theseus, with Antiope on board his ship, spent some time in those parts, and that there chanced to be with him on this expedition three young men of Athens who were brothers, Euneos, Thoas, and Soloïs. This last, he says, fell in love with Antiope unbeknown to the rest, and revealed his secret to one of his intimate friends. That friend made overtures to Antiope, who positively repulsed the attempt upon her, but treated the matter with discretion and gentleness, and made no denunciation to Theseus. Then Soloïs, in despair, threw himself into a river and drowned himself, and Theseus, when he learned the fate of

νεανίσκου τὸν Θησέα βαρέως ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ δυσφοροῦντα λόγιόν τι πυθόχρηστον ἀνενεγκεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ προστεταγμένον ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας, ὅταν ἐπὶ ξένης ἀνιαθῇ μάλιστα καὶ περίλυπος γένηται, πόλιν ἐκεῖ κτίσαι καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν τινας ἡγεμόνας καταλιπεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν μὲν πόλιν, ἣν ἔκτισεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Πυθόπολιν προσαγορεῦσαι, Σολόεντα δὲ τὸν πλησίον ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ νεανίσκου. καταλιπεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, οἷον ἐπιστάτας καὶ νομοθέτας, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἕρμον ἄνδρα τῶν Ἀθήνησιν εὐπατριδῶν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τόπον Ἑρμοῦ καλεῖν οἰκίαν τοὺς Πυθοπολίτας, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν περισπῶντας καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀπὸ ἥρωος μετατιθέντας.

XXVII. Πρόφασιν μὲν οὖν ταύτην ὁ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων πόλεμος ἔσχε· φαίνεται δὲ μὴ φαῦλον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ γυναικεῖον γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν ἄστει κατεστρατοπέδευσαν οὐδὲ τὴν μάχην συνῆψαν ἐν χρῷ περὶ τὴν Πνύκα καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, εἰ μὴ κρατοῦσαι τῆς χώρας ἀδεῶς τῇ πόλει προσέμιξαν. εἰ μὲν οὖν, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστόρηκε, τῷ Κιμμερικῷ Βοσπόρῳ παγέντι διαβᾶσαι περιῆλθον, ἔργον ἐστὶ πιστεῦσαι· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει σχεδὸν αὐτὰς ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι μαρτυρεῖται καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν τόπων καὶ ταῖς θήκαις τῶν πεσόντων.

Πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ὄκνος ἦν καὶ μέλλησις ἀμφοτέροις τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως· τέλος δὲ Θησεὺς κατά

the young man, and what had caused it, was grievously disturbed, and in his distress called to mind a certain oracle which he had once received at Delphi. For it had there been enjoined upon him by the Pythian priestess that when, in a strange land, he should be sorest vexed and full of sorrow, he should found a city there, and leave some of his followers to govern it. For this cause he founded a city there, and called it, from the Pythian god, Pythopolis, and the adjacent river, Soloïs, in honour of the young man. And he left there the brothers of Soloïs, to be the city's presidents and law-givers, and with them Hermus, one of the noblemen of Athens. From him also the Pythopolitans call a place in the city the House of Hermes, incorrectly changing[1] the second syllable, and transferring the honour from a hero to a god.

XXVII. Well, then, such were the grounds for the war of the Amazons, which seems to have been no trivial nor womanish enterprise for Theseus. For they would not have pitched their camp within the city, nor fought hand to hand battles in the neighbourhood of the Pynx and the Museum, had they not mastered the surrounding country and approached the city with impunity. Whether, now, as Hellanicus writes, they came round by the Cimmerian Bosporus, which they crossed on the ice, may be doubted; but the fact that they encamped almost in the heart of the city is attested both by the names of the localities there and by the graves of those who fell in battle.

Now for a long time there was hesitation and delay on both sides in making the attack, but finally

[1] Literally, giving it the circumflex accent.

τι λόγιον τῷ Φόβῳ σφαγιασάμενος συνῆψεν
3 αὐταῖς. ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐγένετο
μηνὸς ἐφ' ᾗ τὰ Βοηδρόμια μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι
θύουσιν. ἱστορεῖ δὲ Κλείδημος, ἐξακριβοῦν τὰ
καθ' ἕκαστα βουλόμενος, τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον τῶν
Ἀμαζόνων κέρας ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς τὸ νῦν καλού-
μενον Ἀμαζόνειον, τῷ δὲ δεξιῷ πρὸς τὴν Πνύκα
κατὰ τὴν Χρύσαν ἥκειν. μάχεσθαι δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ταῖς Ἀμα-
ζόσι συμπεσόντας, καὶ τάφους τῶν πεσόντων
περὶ τὴν πλατεῖαν εἶναι τὴν φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὰς 13
πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκώδοντος ἡρῷον, ἃς νῦν
4 Πειραϊκὰς ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἐκβιασθῆ-
ναι μέχρι τῶν Εὐμενίδων καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι ταῖς
γυναιξίν, ἀπὸ δὲ Παλλαδίου καὶ Ἀρδηττοῦ καὶ
Λυκείου προσβαλόντας ὥσασθαι τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῶν
ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ πολλὰς καταβαλεῖν.
τετάρτῳ δὲ μηνὶ συνθήκας γενέσθαι διὰ τῆς
Ἱππολύτης· Ἱππολύτην γὰρ οὕτος ὀνομάζει τὴν
τῷ Θησεῖ συνοικοῦσαν, οὐκ Ἀντιόπην.

Ἔνιοι δέ φασι μετὰ τοῦ Θησέως μαχομένην
πεσεῖν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ Μολπαδίας ἀκοντι-
σθεῖσαν, καὶ τὴν στήλην τὴν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ὀλυμ-
5 πίας ἱερὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ κεῖσθαι. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐκ
ἔστιν ἐπὶ πράγμασιν οὕτω παλαιοῖς πλανᾶσθαι
τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς τετρωμένας φασὶ τῶν
Ἀμαζόνων ὑπ' Ἀντιόπης εἰς Χαλκίδα λάθρα
διαπεμφθείσας τυγχάνειν ἐπιμελείας, καὶ ταφῆ-
ναί τινας ἐκεῖ περὶ τὸ νῦν Ἀμαζόνειον καλούμενον.

Theseus, after sacrificing to Fear, in obedience to an oracle, joined battle with the women. This battle, then, was fought on the day of the month Boëdromion on which, down to the present time, the Athenians celebrate the Boëdromia. Cleidemus, who wishes to be minute, writes that the left wing of the Amazons extended to what is now called the Amazoneum, and that with their left they touched the Pnyx at Chrysa; that with this left wing the Athenians fought, engaging the Amazons from the Museum, and that the graves of those who fell are on either side of the street which leads to the gate by the chapel of Chalcodon, which is now called the Peiraïc gate. Here, he says, the Athenians were routed and driven back by the women as far as the shrine of the Eumenides, but those who attacked the invaders from the Palladium and Ardettus and the Lyceum, drove their right wing back as far as to their camp, and slew many of them. And after three months, he says, a treaty of peace was made through the agency of Hippolyta; for Hippolyta is the name which Cleidemus gives to the Amazon whom Theseus married, not Antiope.

But some say that the woman was slain with a javelin by Molpadia, while fighting at Theseus's side, and that the pillar which stands by the sanctuary of Olympian Earth was set up in her memory. And it is not astonishing that history, when dealing with events of such great antiquity, should wander in uncertainty, indeed, we are also told that the wounded Amazons were secretly sent away to Chalcis by Antiope, and were nursed there, and some were buried there, near what is now called the Amazoneum. But that the war ended in a

ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε τὸν πόλεμον εἰς σπονδὰς τελευτῆσαι μαρτύριόν ἐστιν ἥ τε τοῦ τόπου κλῆσις τοῦ παρὰ τὸ Θησεῖον, ὅνπερ Ὁρκωμόσιον καλοῦσιν, ἥ τε γινομένη πάλαι θυσία ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι πρὸ τῶν
6 Θησείων. δεικνύουσι δὲ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς Ἀμαζόνων θήκην παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ῥοῦν βαδίζουσιν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, ὅπου τὸ Ῥομβοειδές. λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἑτέρας ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ταφῆναι παρὰ τὸ ῥευμάτιον ὃ πάλαι μέν, ὡς ἔοικε, Θερμώδων, Αἵμων δὲ νῦν καλεῖται· περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ Δημοσθένους βίῳ γέγραπται. φαίνονται δὲ μηδὲ Θεσσαλίαν ἀπραγμόνως αἱ Ἀμαζόνες διελθοῦσαι· τάφοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν δείκνυνται περὶ τὴν Σκοτουσαίαν καὶ τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλάς.

XXVIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης περὶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων. ἦν γὰρ ὁ τῆς Θησηΐδος ποιητὴς Ἀμαζόνων ἐπανάστασιν γέγραφε, Θησεῖ γαμοῦντι Φαίδραν τῆς Ἀντιόπης ἐπιτιθεμένης καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτῆς Ἀμαζόνων ἀμυνομένων καὶ κτείνοντος αὐτὰς Ἡρακλέους, περιφανῶς ἔοικε μύθῳ καὶ
2 πλάσματι. τῆς δὲ Ἀντιόπης ἀποθανούσης ἔγημε Φαίδραν, ἔχων υἱὸν Ἱππόλυτον ἐξ Ἀντιόπης, ὡς δὲ Πίνδαρός φησι, Δημοφῶντα. τὰς δὲ περὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δυστυχίας, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἀντι-

solemn treaty is attested not only by the naming of the place adjoining the Theseum, which is called Horcomosium,[1] but also by the sacrifice which, in ancient times, was offered to the Amazons before the festival of Theseus. And the Megarians, too, show a place in their country where Amazons were buried, on the way from the market-place to the place called Rhus,[2] where the Rhomboid[2] stands. And it is said, likewise, that others of them died near Chaeroneia, and were buried on the banks of the little stream which, in ancient times, as it seems, was called Thermodon, but nowadays, Haemon; concerning which names I have written in my Life of Demosthenes.[3] It appears also that not even Thessaly was traversed by the Amazons without opposition, for Amazonian graves are to this day shown in the vicinity of Scotussa and Cynoscephalae.

XXVIII. So much, then, is worthy of mention regarding the Amazons. For the "Insurrection of the Amazons," written by the author of the Theseïd, telling how, when Theseus married Phaedra, Antiope and the Amazons who fought to avenge her attacked him, and were slain by Heracles, has every appearance of fable and invention. Theseus did, indeed, marry Phaedra, but this was after the death of Antiope, and he had a son by Antiope, Hippolytus, or, as Pindar says,[4] Demophoön. As for the calamities which befell Phaedra and the son of Theseus by Antiope, since there is no conflict here between

[1] From the oaths of ratification.

[2] "Stream," because water from the mountains above the city once flowed this way. Pausanias, i. xli. 2. The "Rhomboid" may have been an irregular mound.

[3] Chapter xix. [4] In a passage not extant.

πίπτει παρὰ τῶν ἱστορικῶν τοῖς τραγικοῖς, οὕτως ἔχειν θετέον ὡς ἐκεῖνοι πεποιήκασιν ἅπαντες.

XXIX. Εἰσὶ μέντοι λόγοι περὶ γάμων Θησέως καὶ ἕτεροι, τὴν σκηνὴν διαπεφευγότες, οὔτε ἀρχὰς εὐγνώμονας οὔτε εὐτυχεῖς τελευτὰς ἔχοντες. καὶ γὰρ Ἀναξώ τινα Τροιζηνίαν ἁρπάσαι λέγεται, καὶ Σίνιν ἀποκτείνας καὶ Κερκύονα συγγενέσθαι βίᾳ ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτῶν· γῆμαι δὲ καὶ Περίβοιαν τὴν Αἴαντος μητέρα καὶ Φερέβοιαν αὖθις
2 καὶ Ἰόπην τὴν Ἰφικλέους· καὶ διὰ τὸν Αἴγλης ἔρωτα τῆς Πανοπέως, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τὴν Ἀριάδνης ἀπόλειψιν αἰτιῶνται μὴ καλὴν γενέσθαι μηδὲ πρέπουσαν· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν Ἑλένης ἁρπαγὴν πολέμου μὲν ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν Ἀττικήν, αὐτῷ δὲ εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ὄλεθρον τελευτῆσαι· περὶ ὧν ὀλίγον ὕστερον εἰρήσεται.

3 Πολλῶν δὲ τότε τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἄθλων γενομένων Ἡρόδωρος μὲν οὐδενὸς οἴεται τὸν Θησέα μετασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις Λαπίθαις τῆς κενταυρομαχίας· ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐν Κόλχοις γενέσθαι καὶ Μελεάγρῳ συνεξελεῖν τὸν κάπρον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παροιμίαν εἶναι τὴν "Οὐκ ἄνευ Θησέως." αὐτὸν μέντοι μηδενὸς συμμάχου δεη- 14
θέντα πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς ἄθλους κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ τὸν "Ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς" λόγον ἐπ'
4 ἐκείνου κρατῆσαι. συνέπραξε δὲ καὶ Ἀδράστῳ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ πεσόντων,

historians and tragic poets, we must suppose that they happened as represented by the poets uniformly.

XXIX. There are, however, other stories also about marriages of Theseus which were neither honourable in their beginnings nor fortunate in their endings, but these have not been dramatised. For instance, he is said to have carried off Anaxo, a maiden of Troezen, and after slaying Sinis and Cercyon to have ravished their daughters; also to have married Periboea, the mother of Aias, and Phereboea afterwards, and Iope, the daughter of Iphicles; and because of his passion for Aegle, the daughter of Panopeus, as I have already said,[1] he is accused of the desertion of Ariadne, which was not honourable nor even decent; and finally, his rape of Helen is said to have filled Attica with war, and to have brought about at last his banishment and death, of which things I shall speak a little later.

Of the many exploits performed in those days by the bravest men, Herodorus thinks that Theseus took part in none, except that he aided the Lapithae in their war with the Centaurs; but others say that he was not only with Jason at Colchis,[2] but helped Meleager to slay the Calydonian boar, and that hence arose the proverb "Not without Theseus"; that he himself, however, without asking for any ally, performed many glorious exploits, and that the phrase "Lo! another Heracles" became current with reference to him. He also aided Adrastus in recovering for burial the bodies of those who had fallen before the walls of the Cadmeia,[3] not by mastering the

[1] Chapter xx. 1. [2] In quest of the golden fleece.
[3] The citadel of Thebes.

οὐχ ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ, μάχῃ τῶν Θηβαίων κρατήσας, ἀλλὰ πείσας καὶ σπεισάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι· Φιλόχορος δὲ καὶ σπονδὰς περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως γενέσθαι πρώτας ἐκείνας. ὅτι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς πρῶτος ἀπέδωκε νεκροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἡρακλέους γέγραπται. ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν πολλῶν ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς δείκνυνται, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων περὶ Ἐλευσῖνα, καὶ τοῦτο Θησέως Ἀδράστῳ χαρισαμένου. καταμαρτυροῦσι δὲ τῶν Εὐριπίδου Ἱκετίδων οἱ Αἰσχύλου Ἐλευσίνιοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Θησεὺς πεποίηται.

XXX. Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Πειρίθουν φιλίαν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι. δόξαν εἶχεν ἐπὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ μεγίστην· βουλόμενος οὖν ὁ Πειρίθους ἐξελέγξαι καὶ λαβεῖν διάπειραν, ἠλάσατο βοῦς ἐκ Μαραθῶνος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πυθόμενος διώκειν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλ' ἀναστρέψας ἀπήντησεν. ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἄτερος τὸν ἕτερον καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐθαύμασε καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἠγάσθη, μάχης μὲν ἔσχοντο, Πειρίθους δὲ πρότερος τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι δικαστὴν τὸν Θησέα τῆς βοηλασίας· ἑκὼν γὰρ ὑφέξειν ἣν ἂν ὁρίσῃ δίκην ἐκεῖνος· Θησεὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν δίκην ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ καὶ προὐκαλεῖτο φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον· ἐποιήσαντο δὲ τὴν φιλίαν ἔνορκον.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου γαμῶν ὁ Πειρίθους Δηϊδάμειαν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Θησέως ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἱστο-

Thebans in battle, as Euripides has it in his tragedy,[1] but by persuading them to a truce; for so most writers say, and Philochorus adds that this was the first truce ever made for recovering the bodies of those slain in battle, although in the accounts of Heracles it is written that Heracles was the first to give back their dead to his enemies. And the graves of the greater part of those who fell before Thebes are shown at Eleutherae, and those of the commanders near Eleusis, and this last burial was a favour which Theseus showed to Adrastus. The account of Euripides in his "Suppliants"[2] is disproved by that of Aeschylus in his "Eleusinians,"[3] where Theseus is made to relate the matter as above.

XXX. The friendship of Peirithoüs and Theseus is said to have come about in the following manner. Theseus had a very great reputation for strength and bravery, and Peirithoüs was desirous of making test and proof of it. Accordingly, he drove Theseus's cattle away from Marathon, and when he learned that their owner was pursuing him in arms, he did not fly, but turned back and met him. When, however, each beheld the other with astonishment at his beauty and admiration of his daring, they refrained from battle, and Peirithoüs, stretching out his hand the first, bade Theseus himself be judge of his robbery, for he would willingly submit to any penalty which the other might assign. Then Theseus not only remitted his penalty, but invited him to be a friend and brother in arms; whereupon they ratified their friendship with oaths.

After this, when Peirithoüs was about to marry Deidameia, he asked Theseus to come to the wedding,

[1] *Suppliants*, 653 ff. [2] Verses 1213 ff. [3] Not extant.

ῥῆσαι καὶ συγγενέσθαι τοῖς Λαπίθαις. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κενταύρους κεκληκὼς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. ὡς δὲ ἠσέλγαινον ὕβρει καὶ μεθύοντες οὐκ ἀπείχοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐτράποντο πρὸς ἄμυναν οἱ Λαπίθαι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ὕστερον ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς χώρας, τοῦ Θησέως αὐτοῖς συμμαχομένου καὶ
4 συμπολεμοῦντος. Ἡρόδωρος δὲ ταῦτα πραχθῆναί φησιν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος ἤδη τὸν Θησέα βοηθοῦντα τοῖς Λαπίθαις παραγενέσθαι, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ὄψει γνωρίσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ποιησάμενον ἔργον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ περὶ Τραχῖνα πεπαυμένῳ πλάνης ἤδη καὶ ἄθλων· γενέσθαι δὲ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης καὶ
5 πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ἀμφοτέροις τὴν ἔντευξιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἄν τις πρόσχοι τοῖς πολλάκις ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἱστοροῦσι· καὶ τὴν μύησιν Ἡρακλεῖ γενέσθαι Θησέως σπουδάσαντος καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς μυήσεως καθαρμὸν ὡς δεομένῳ διά τινας πράξεις ἀβουλήτους.

XXXI. Ἤδη δὲ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς, ὥς φησιν Ἑλλάνικος, ἔπραξε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην, οὐ καθ' ὥραν. ὅθεν ὡς δὴ μέγιστον ἐπανορθούμενοι τοῦτο τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἔνιοι λέγουσιν οὐκ αὐτὸν ἁρπάσαι τὴν Ἑλένην, ἀλλὰ Ἶδα καὶ Λυγκέως ἁρπασάντων παρακαταθήκην λαβόντα τηρεῖν καὶ μὴ προΐεσθαι τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἀπαιτοῦσιν· ἢ νὴ Δία Τυνδάρεω παραδόντος

and see the country, and become acquainted with the Lapithae. Now he had invited the Centaurs also to the wedding feast. And when these were flown with insolence and wine, and laid hands upon the women, the Lapithae took vengeance upon them. Some of them they slew upon the spot, the rest they afterwards overcame in war and expelled from the country, Theseus fighting with them at the banquet and in the war. Herodorus, however, says that this was not how it happened, but that the war was already in progress when Theseus came to the aid of the Lapithae ; and that on his way thither he had his first sight of Heracles, having made it his business to seek him out at Trachis, where the hero was already resting from his wandering and labours ; and he says the interview passed with mutual expressions of honour, friendliness, and generous praise. Notwithstanding, one might better side with those historians who say that the heroes had frequent interviews with one another, and that it was at the instigation of Theseus that Heracles was initiated into the mysteries at Eleusis, and purified before his initiation, when he requested it on account of sundry rash acts.

XXXI. Theseus was already fifty years old, according to Hellanicus, when he took part in the rape of Helen, who was not of marriageable age. Wherefore some writers, thinking to correct this heaviest accusation against him, say that he did not carry off Helen himself, but that when Idas and Lynceus had carried her off, he received her in charge and watched over her and would not surrender her to the Dioscuri [1] when they demanded her ; or, if you will believe it, that her own father, Tyndareüs,

[1] Castor and Pollux, her brothers.

αὐτοῦ, φοβηθέντος Ἐναρσφόρον τὸν Ἱπποκόωντος ἔτι νηπίαν οὖσαν βιαζόμενον τὴν Ἑλένην λαβεῖν. τὰ δὲ εἰκότα καὶ πλείστους ἔχοντα μάρτυρας τοιαῦτά ἐστιν.

2 Ἦλθον μὲν εἰς Σπάρτην ἀμφότεροι καὶ τὴν κόρην ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθίας χορεύουσαν ἁρπάσαντες ἔφυγον· τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν δίωξιν οὐ πορρωτέρω Τεγέας ἐπακολουθησάντων, ἐν ἀδείᾳ γενόμενοι καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Πελοπόν- 15
νησον ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας, τὸν μὲν λαχόντα κλήρῳ τὴν Ἑλένην ἔχειν γυναῖκα, συμπράττειν
3 δὲ θατέρῳ γάμον ἄλλον. ἐπὶ ταύταις δὲ κληρουμένων ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἔλαχε Θησεύς· καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν παρθένον οὔπω γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσαν εἰς Ἀφίδνας ἐκόμισε· καὶ τὴν μητέρα καταστήσας μετ' αὐτῆς Ἀφίδνῳ παρέδωκεν ὄντι φίλῳ, διακελευσάμενος φυλάττειν καὶ λανθάνειν τοὺς ἄλ-
4 λους. αὐτὸς δὲ Πειρίθῳ τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἀποδιδούς, εἰς Ἤπειρον συναπεδήμησεν· ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀϊδωνέως θυγατέρα τοῦ Μολοσσῶν βασιλέως, ὃς τῇ γυναικὶ Φερσεφόνην ὄνομα θέμενος, Κόρην δὲ τῇ θυγατρί, τῷ δὲ κυνὶ Κέρβερον, ἐκέλευε τούτῳ διαμάχεσθαι τοὺς μνωμένους τὴν παῖδα καὶ λαβεῖν τὸν κρατήσαντα. τοὺς μέντοι περὶ τὸν Πειρίθουν οὐ μνηστῆρας ἥκειν, ἀλλ' ἁρπασομένους πυνθανόμενος συνέλαβε· καὶ τὸν μὲν Πειρίθουν εὐθὺς ἠφάνισε διὰ τοῦ κυνός, τὸν δὲ Θησέα καθείρξας ἐφύλαττεν.

XXXII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ Μενεσθεὺς ὁ Πετεὼ τοῦ Ὀρνέως τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως πρῶτος, ὥς φασιν, ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθέμενος τῷ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ

entrusted her to Theseus, for fear of Enarsphorus, the son of Hippocoön, who sought to take Helen by force while she was yet a child. But the most probable account, and that which has the most witnesses in its favour, is as follows.

Theseus and Peirithoüs went to Sparta in company, seized the girl as she was dancing in the temple of Artemis Orthia, and fled away with her. Their pursuers followed them no farther than Tegea, and so the two friends, when they had passed through Peloponnesus and were out of danger, made a compact with one another that the one on whom the lot fell should have Helen to wife, but should assist the other in getting another wife. With this mutual understanding they cast lots, and Theseus won, and taking the maiden, who was not yet ripe for marriage, conveyed her to Aphidnae. Here he made his mother a companion of the girl, and committed both to Aphidnus, a friend of his, with strict orders to guard them in complete secrecy. Then he himself, to return the service of Peirithoüs, journeyed with him to Epirus, in quest of the daughter of Aïdoneus the king of the Molossians. This man called his wife Phersephone, his daughter Cora, and his dog Cerberus, with which beast he ordered that all suitors of his daughter should fight, promising her to him that should overcome it. However, when he learned that Peirithoüs and his friend were come not to woo, but to steal away his daughter, he seized them both. Peirithoüs he put out of the way at once by means of the dog, but Theseus he kept in close confinement.

XXXII. Meanwhile Menestheus, the son of Peteos, grandson of Orneus, and great-grandson of Erechtheus, the first of men, as they say, to affect popularity

πρὸς χάριν ὄχλῳ διαλέγεσθαι, τούς τε δυνατοὺς συνίστη καὶ παρώξυνε, πάλαι βαρυνομένους τὸν Θησέα καὶ νομίζοντας ἀρχὴν καὶ βασιλείαν ἀφῃρημένον ἑκάστου τῶν κατὰ δῆμον εὐπατριδῶν, εἰς ἓν ἄστυ συνείρξαντα πάντας ὑπηκόοις χρῆσθαι καὶ δούλοις, τούς τε πολλοὺς διετάραττε καὶ διέβαλλεν, ὡς ὄναρ ἐλευθερίας ὁρῶντας, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀπεστερημένους πατρίδων καὶ ἱερῶν, ὅπως ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ γνησίων βασιλέων πρὸς ἕνα δε-
2 σπότην ἔπηλυν καὶ ξένον ἀποβλέπωσι. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ πραγματευομένου μεγάλην ῥοπὴν ὁ πόλεμος τῷ νεωτερισμῷ προσέθηκε, τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν ἐπελθόντων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλως φασὶν ὑπὸ τούτου πεισθέντας ἐλθεῖν.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οὐδὲν ἠδίκουν, ἀλλ' ἀπῄτουν τὴν ἀδελφήν. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει μήτε ἔχειν μήτε γινώσκειν ὅπου καταλέλειπται,
3 πρὸς πόλεμον ἐτράποντο. φράζει δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀκάδημος ᾠδή τινι τρόπῳ τὴν ἐν Ἀφίδναις κρύψιν αὐτῆς. ὅθεν ἐκείνῳ τε τιμαὶ ζῶντι παρὰ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν ἐγένοντο, καὶ πολλάκις ὕστερον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμβαλόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν χώραν τέμνοντες, τῆς Ἀκαδημείας
4 ἀπείχοντο διὰ τὸν Ἀκάδημον. ὁ δὲ Δικαίαρχος Ἐχεδήμου[1] φησὶ καὶ Μαράθου συστρατευσάντων

[1] Ἐχεδήμου with Coraës, Sintenis[1], and Bekker, after Xylander : Ἐχέμου.

and ingratiate himself with the multitude, stirred up and embittered the chief men in Athens. These had long been hostile to Theseus, and thought that he had robbed each one of the country nobles of his royal office,[1] and then shut them all up in a single city, where he treated them as subjects and slaves. The common people also he threw into commotion by his reproaches. They thought they had a vision of liberty, he said, but in reality they had been robbed of their native homes and religions in order that, in the place of many good kings of their own blood, they might look obediently to one master who was an immigrant and an alien. While he was thus busying himself, the Tyndaridae[2] came up against the city, and the war greatly furthered his seditious schemes; indeed, some writers say outright that he persuaded the invaders to come.

At first, then, they did no harm, but simply demanded back their sister. When, however, the people of the city replied that they neither had the girl nor knew where she had been left, they resorted to war. But Academus, who had learned in some way or other of her concealment at Aphidnae, told them about it. For this reason he was honoured during his life by the Tyndaridae, and often afterwards when the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica and laid waste all the country round about, they spared the Academy,[3] for the sake of Academus. But Dicaearchus says that Echedemus and Marathus of

[1] Cf. chapter xxiv. 1–3.

[2] Or Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux.

[3] A shady precinct near the river Cephissus, about a mile N.W. of Athens. Here Plato and his disciples taught. See Plutarch's *Cimon*, xiii. 8.

τότε τοῖς Τυνδαρίδαις ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας, ἀφ' οὗ μὲν Ἐχεδημίαν προσαγορευθῆναι τὴν νῦν Ἀκαδήμειαν, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ Μαραθῶνα τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδόντος ἑαυτὸν ἑκουσίως κατά τι λόγιον σφαγιάσασθαι πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως.

Ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες ἐξεῖλον τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθά φασι καὶ Ἄλυκον πεσεῖν τὸν Σκείρωνος υἱόν, συστρατευόμενον τότε τοῖς Διοσκούροις, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τόπον τῆς Μεγαρικῆς Ἄλυκον καλεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος ἐνταφέντος. Ἡρέας δ' ὑπὸ Θησέως αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀφίδνας ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Ἄλυκον ἱστόρηκε, καὶ μαρτύρια ταυτὶ τὰ ἔπη παρέχεται περὶ τοῦ Ἀλύκου·

τὸν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ ποτ' Ἀφίδνῃ
μαρνάμενον Θησεὺς Ἑλένης ἕνεκ' ἠϋκόμοιο
κτεῖνεν.

Οὐ μὴν εἰκὸς αὐτοῦ Θησέως παρόντος ἁλῶναι τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας.

XXXIII. Ἐχομένων δ' οὖν τῶν Ἀφιδνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ἄστει δεδιότων, ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ὁ Μενεσθεὺς δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας, ὡς μόνῳ Θησεῖ βίας ὑπάρξαντι πολεμοῦντας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εὐεργέτας ὄντας ἀνθρώπων καὶ σωτῆρας. ἐμαρτύρει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠξίωσαν ἁπάντων 16
κρατοῦντες ἀλλ' ἢ μυηθῆναι, μηδὲν ἧττον Ἡρα-
2 κλέους τῇ πόλει προσήκοντες. καὶ τοῦτο οὖν

Arcadia were in the army of the Tyndaridae at that time, from the first of whom the present Academy was named Echedemia, and from the other, the township of Marathon, since in accordance with some oracle he voluntarily gave himself to be sacrificed in front of the line of battle.

To Aphidnae, then, they came, won a pitched battle, and stormed the town. Here they say that among others Alycus, the son of Sciron, who was at that time in the army of the Dioscuri, was slain, and that from him a place in Megara where he was buried is called Alycus. But Hereas writes that Alycus was slain at Aphidnae by Theseus himself, and cites in proof these verses about Alycus:—

"whom once in the plain of Aphidnae,
Where he was fighting, Theseus, ravisher of fair-haired Helen,
Slew."

However, it is not likely that Theseus himself was present when both his mother and Aphidnae were captured.

XXXIII. At any rate, Aphidnae was taken and the city of Athens was full of fear, but Menestheus persuaded its people to receive the Tyndaridae into the city and show them all manner of kindness, since they were waging war upon Theseus alone, who had committed the first act of violence, but were benefactors and saviours of the rest of mankind. And their behaviour confirmed his assurances, for although they were masters of everything, they demanded only an initiation into the mysteries, since they were no less closely allied to the city than Heracles. This privilege was accordingly granted

ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀφίδνου ποιησαμένου παῖδας, ὡς Πύλιος Ἡρακλέα· καὶ τιμὰς ἰσοθέους ἔσχον, Ἄνακες προσαγορευθέντες, ἢ διὰ τὰς γενομένας ἀνοχὰς ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν τοῦ μηδένα κακῶς παθεῖν στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης ἔνδον οὔσης· ἀνακῶς γὰρ ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους ἢ φυλάττοντας ὁτιοῦν· καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἴσως ἄνακτας διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπιφάνειαν Ἄνακας ὀνομάζεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἄνω τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἀνεκὰς ὀνομάζειν, καὶ ἀνέκαθεν τὸ ἄνωθεν.

XXXIV. Αἴθραν δὲ τὴν Θησέως μητέρα γενομένην αἰχμάλωτον ἀπαχθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Τροίαν μετὰ Ἑλένης· καὶ μαρτυρεῖν Ὅμηρον, ἔπεσθαι τῇ Ἑλένῃ φάμενον·

Αἴθρην Πιτθῆος θύγατρα Κλυμένην τε βοῶπιν.

Οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος διαβάλλουσι καὶ τὴν περὶ Μουνύχου μυθολογίαν, ὃν ἐκ Δημοφῶντος Λαοδίκης κρύφα τεκούσης ἐν Ἰλίῳ συνεκθρέψαι
2 τὴν Αἴθραν λέγουσιν. ἴδιον δέ τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον ὅλως λόγον ὁ Ἴστρος ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀναφέρει περὶ Αἴθρας, ὡς ἐνίων λεγόντων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν τὸν Πάριν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ[1] ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Πατρόκλου μάχῃ κρατηθῆναι παρὰ τὸν Σπερχειόν, Ἕκτορα δὲ τὴν Τροιζηνίων πόλιν λαβόντα διαρπάσαι καὶ

[1] τὸν Πάριν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, with Bekker: τὸν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Πάριν.

them, after they had been adopted by Aphidnus, as Pylius had adopted Heracles. They also obtained honours like those paid to gods, and were addressed as "Anakes," either on account of their *stopping* hostilities, or because of their *diligent care* that no one should be injured, although there was such a large army within the city; for the phrase "anakos echein" is used of such as *care for*, or *guard* anything, and perhaps it is for this reason that kings are called "Anaktes." There are also those who say that the Tyndaridae were called "Anakes" because of the appearance of their twin stars in the heavens, since the Athenians use "anekas" and "anekathen" for "ano", and "anothen," signifying *above* or *on high.*

XXXIV. They say that Aethra, the mother of Theseus, who was taken captive at Aphidnae, was carried away to Lacedaemon, and from thence to Troy with Helen, and that Homer[1] bears witness to this when he mentions as followers of Helen:—

"Aethra of Pittheus born, and Clymene large-eyed and lovely."

But some reject this verse of Homer's, as well as the legend of Munychus, who was born in secret to Laodice from Demophoön, and whom Aethra helped to rear in Ilium. But a very peculiar and wholly divergent story about Aethra is given by Ister in the thirteenth book of his "Attic History." Some write, he says, that Alexander (Paris) was overcome in battle by Achilles and Patroclus in Thessaly, along the banks of the Spercheius, but that Hector took and plundered the city of Troezen, and carried

[1] *Iliad*, iii. 144.

τὴν Αἴθραν ἀπάγειν ἐκεῖ καταλειφθεῖσαν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἔχει πολλὴν ἀλογίαν.

XXXV. Αἰδωνέως δὲ τοῦ Μολοσσοῦ ξενίζοντος Ἡρακλέα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θησέα καὶ Πειρίθουν κατὰ τύχην μνησθέντος, ἅ τε πράξοντες ἦλθον καὶ ἃ φωραθέντες ἔπαθον, βαρέως ἤνεγκεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, τοῦ μὲν ἀπολωλότος ἀδόξως, τοῦ δὲ ἀπολλυμένου. καὶ περὶ Πειρίθου μὲν οὐδὲν ᾤετο ποιήσειν πλέον ἐγκαλῶν, τὸν δὲ Θησέα παρητεῖτο καὶ χάριν ἠξίου ταύτην αὐτῷ
2 δοθῆναι. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Αἰδωνέως, λυθεὶς ὁ Θησεὺς ἐπανῆλθε μὲν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐδέπω παντάπασι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ κεκρατημένων, καὶ ὅσα ὑπῆρχε τεμένη πρότερον αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελούσης ἅπαντα καθιέρωσε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ προσηγόρευσεν ἀντὶ Θησείων Ἡράκλεια, πλὴν τεσσάρων, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἱστόρηκεν. αὖθις[1] δὲ βουλόμενος ὡς πρότερον ἄρχειν καὶ καθηγεῖσθαι τοῦ πολιτεύματος εἰς στάσεις ἐνέπεσε καὶ ταραχάς, οὓς μὲν ἀπέλιπε μισοῦντας αὐτὸν εὑρίσκων τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τῷ μισεῖν προσειληφότας, ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πολὺ τὸ διεφθαρμένον ὁρῶν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι βουλόμενον ἀντὶ
3 τοῦ ποιεῖν σιωπῇ τὸ προσταττόμενον. ἐπιχειρῶν οὖν βιάζεσθαι κατεδημαγωγεῖτο καὶ κατεστασιάζετο. καὶ τέλος ἀπογνοὺς τὰ πράγματα τοὺς μὲν παῖδας εἰς Εὔβοιαν ὑπεξέπεμψε πρὸς Ἐλεφήνορα τὸν Χαλκώδοντος, αὐτὸς δὲ Γαργηττοῖ κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρὰς θέμενος, οὗ νῦν ἔστι τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρατήριον, εἰς Σκῦρον ἐξέπλευσεν,

[1] αὖθις Coraës, after Reiske: εὐθύς (*at once*).

away Aethra, who had been left there. This, however, is very doubtful.

XXXV. Now while Heracles was the guest of Aïdoneus the Molossian, the king incidentally spoke of the adventure of Theseus and Peirithoüs, telling what they had come there to do, and what they had suffered when they were found out. Heracles was greatly distressed by the inglorious death of the one, and by the impending death of the other. As for Peirithoüs, he thought it useless to complain, but he begged for the release of Theseus, and demanded that this favour be granted him. Aïdoneus yielded to his prayers, Theseus was set free, and returned to Athens, where his friends were not yet altogether overwhelmed. All the sacred precincts which the city had previously set apart for himself, he now dedicated to Heracles, and called them Heracleia instead of Theseia, four only excepted, as Philochorus writes. But when he desired to rule again as before, and to direct the state, he became involved in factions and disturbances; he found that those who hated him when he went away, had now added to their hatred contempt, and he saw that a large part of the people were corrupted, and wished to be cajoled into service instead of doing silently what they were told to do. Attempting, then, to force his wishes upon them, he was overpowered by demagogues and factions, and finally, despairing of his cause, he sent his children away privately into Euboea, to Elephenor, the son of Chalcodon, while he himself, after invoking curses upon the Athenians at Gargettus, where there is to this day the place called Araterion,[1] sailed away to the island of Scyros,

[1] That is, the *place of prayer*, or *cursing*.

οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ φιλίας, ὡς ᾤετο, καὶ χωρίων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πατρῴων. ἐβασίλευε δὲ
4 Λυκομήδης τότε τῶν Σκυρίων. πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν ἀφικόμενος ἐζήτει τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀπολαβεῖν, ὡς αὐτόθι κατοικήσων· ἔνιοι δέ φασι παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὁ δὲ Λυκομήδης, εἴτε δείσας τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, εἴτε τῷ Μενεσθεῖ χαριζόμενος, ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς χώρας ἀναγαγὼν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιδείξων τοὺς ἀγρούς, ὧσε κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν καὶ διέφθειρεν. ἔνιοι δ' ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πεσεῖν φασι σφαλέντα, μετὰ 17
5 δεῖπνον, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, περιπατοῦντα. καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν αὐτοῦ λόγον οὐδένα τεθνηκότος, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐβασίλευσε Μενεσθεύς, οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἰδιωτεύοντες Ἐλεφήνορι συνεστράτευσαν εἰς Ἴλιον. ἐκεῖ δὲ Μενεσθέως ἀποθανόντος ἐπανελθόντες αὐτοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνεκομίσαντο. χρόνοις δ' ὕστερον Ἀθηναίους ἄλλα τε παρέστησεν ὡς ἥρωα τιμᾶν Θησέα, καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους μαχομένων ἔδοξαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι φάσμα Θησέως ἐν ὅπλοις καθορᾶν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους φερόμενον.

XXXVI. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ Φαίδωνος ἄρχοντος μαντευομένοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνεῖλεν ἡ Πυθία τὰ Θησέως ἀναλαβεῖν ὀστᾶ καὶ θεμένους ἐντίμως παρ' αὑτοῖς φυλάττειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λαβεῖν ἀπορία καὶ γνῶναι τὸν τάφον ἀμιξίᾳ καὶ χαλεπότητι τῶν ἐνοικούντων Δολόπων. οὐ μὴν

where the people were friendly to him, as he thought, and where he had ancestral estates. Now Lycomedes was at that time king of Scyros. To him therefore Theseus applied with the request that his lands should be restored to him, since he was going to dwell there, though some say that he asked his aid against the Athenians. But Lycomedes, either because he feared a man of such fame, or as a favour to Menestheus, led him up to the high places of the land, on pretence of showing him from thence his lands, threw him down the cliffs, and killed him. Some, however, say that he slipped and fell down of himself while walking there after supper, as was his custom. At the time no one made any account of his death, but Menestheus reigned as king at Athens, while the sons of Theseus, as men of private station, accompanied Elephenor on the expedition to Ilium; but after Menestheus died there, they came back by themselves and recovered their kingdom. In after times, however, the Athenians were moved to honour Theseus as a demigod, especially by the fact that many of those who fought at Marathon against the Medes thought they saw an apparition of Theseus in arms rushing on in front of them against the Barbarians.[1]

XXXVI. And after the Median wars, in the archonship of Phaedo,[2] when the Athenians were consulting the oracle at Delphi, they were told by the Pythian priestess to take up the bones of Theseus, give them honourable burial at Athens, and guard them there. But it was difficult to find the grave and take up the bones, because of the inhospitable and savage nature of the Dolopians,

[1] Cf. Pausanias, i. 15, 4.

[2] 476–475 B.C.

ἀλλὰ Κίμων ἑλὼν τὴν νῆσον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος ἐξανευρεῖν, ἀετοῦ τινα τόπον βουνοειδῆ κόπτοντος, ὥς φασι, τῷ στόματι καὶ διαστέλλοντος τοῖς ὄνυξι
2 θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ συμφρονήσας ἀνέσκαψεν. εὑρέθη δὲ θήκη τε μεγάλου σώματος αἰχμή τε παρακειμένη χαλκῆ καὶ ξίφος. κομισθέντων δὲ τούτων ὑπὸ Κίμωνος ἐπὶ τῆς τριήρους, ἡσθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πομπαῖς τε λαμπραῖς ἐδέξαντο καὶ θυσίαις ὥσπερ αὐτὸν ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. καὶ κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον, ἔστι δὲ φύξιμον οἰκέταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ταπεινοτέροις καὶ δεδιόσι κρείττονας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Θησέως προστατικοῦ τινος καὶ βοηθητικοῦ γενομένου καὶ προσδεχομένου φιλανθρώπως τὰς
3 τῶν ταπεινοτέρων δεήσεις. θυσίαν δὲ ποιοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὴν μεγίστην ὀγδόῃ Πυανεψιῶνος, ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τῶν ἠϊθέων ἐκ Κρήτης ἐπανῆλθεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὀγδόαις τιμῶσιν αὐτόν, ἢ διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ Τροιζῆνος ἀφικέσθαι τῇ ὀγδόῃ τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ὡς ἱστόρηκε Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητής, ἢ νομίζοντες ἑτέρου μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος
4 γεγονέναι λεγομένῳ. καὶ γὰρ Ποσειδῶνα ταῖς

who then inhabited the island. However, Cimon took the island, as I have related in his Life,[1] and being ambitious to discover the grave of Theseus, saw an eagle in a place where there was the semblance of a mound, pecking, as they say, and tearing up the ground with his talons. By some divine ordering he comprehended the meaning of this and dug there, and there was found a coffin of a man of extraordinary size, a bronze spear lying by its side, and a sword. When these relics were brought home on his trireme by Cimon, the Athenians were delighted, and received them with splendid processions and sacrifices, as though Theseus himself were returning to his city. And now he lies buried in the heart of the city, near the present gymnasium,[2] and his tomb is a sanctuary and place of refuge for runaway slaves and all men of low estate who are afraid of men in power, since Theseus was a champion and helper of such during his life, and graciously received the supplications of the poor and needy. The chief sacrifice which the Athenians make in his honour comes on the eighth day of the month Pyanepsion, the day on which he came back from Crete with the youths. But they honour him also on the eighth day of the other months, either because he came to Athens in the first place, from Troezen, on the eighth day of the month Hecatombaeon, as Diodorus the Topographer states, or because they consider this number more appropriate for him than any other since he was said to be a son of Poseidon.[3] For they pay honours to Poseidon on the eighth day

[1] Chapter viii. 3-6.
[2] The gymnasium of Ptolemy. Pausanias, i. 17, 2.
[3] Cf. chapter vi. 1.

ὀγδόαις τιμῶσιν. ἡ γὰρ ὀγδοὰς κύβος ἀπ' ἀρτίου πρῶτος οὖσα καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τετραγώνου διπλασία, τὸ μόνιμον καὶ δυσκίνητον οἰκεῖον ἔχει τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως, ὃν ἀσφάλειον καὶ γαιήοχον προσονομάζομεν.

of every month. The number eight, as the first cube of an even number and the double of the first square, fitly represents the steadfast and immovable power of this god, to whom we give the epithets of Securer and Earth-stayer.

ROMULUS

ΡΩΜΥΛΟΣ

I. Τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα καὶ δόξῃ διὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κεχωρηκὸς ἀφ' ὅτου καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τῇ πόλει γέγονεν, οὐχ ὁμολόγηται παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πελασγοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστα τῆς οἰκουμένης πλανηθέντας ἀνθρώπων τε πλείστων κρατήσαντας, αὐτόθι κατοικῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ῥώμην
2 οὕτως ὀνομάσαι τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Τροίας ἁλισκομένης διαφυγόντας ἐνίους καὶ πλοίων ἐπιτυχόντας ὑπὸ πνευμάτων τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ προσπεσεῖν φερομένους, καὶ περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν ποταμὸν ὁρμίσασθαι· ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν ἀπορουμέναις 1
ἤδη καὶ δυσανασχετούσαις πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποθέσθαι μίαν, ἣ καὶ γένει προὔχειν καὶ φρονεῖν ἐδόκει μάλιστα, Ῥώμην ὄνομα, καταπρῆσαι τὰ
3 πλοῖα· πραχθέντος δὲ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἀγανακτεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἔπειτα δι' ἀνάγκην ἱδρυνθέντας περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον, ὡς ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κρεῖττον ἐλπίδος ἔπραττον, ἀγαθῆς τε πειρώμενοι χώρας καὶ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν προσοίκων, ἄλλην τε τιμὴν ἀπονέμειν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὴν
4 πόλιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς αἰτίας, προσαγορεύειν. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε παραμένειν λέγουσι τὸ τοὺς συγγενεῖς

ROMULUS

1. From whom, and for what reason the great name of Rome, so famous among mankind, was given to that city, writers are not agreed. Some say that the Pelasgians, after wandering over most of the habitable earth and subduing most of mankind, settled down on that site, and that from their *strength* in war they called their city Rome. Others say that at the taking of Troy some of its people escaped, found sailing vessels, were driven by storms upon the coast of Tuscany, and came to anchor in the river Tiber; that here, while their women were perplexed and distressed at thought of the sea, one of them, who was held to be of superior birth and the greatest understanding, and whose name was Roma, proposed that they should burn the ships[1]; that when this was done, the men were angry at first, but afterwards, when they had settled of necessity on the Palatine, seeing themselves in a little while more prosperous than they had hoped, since they found the country good and the neighbours made them welcome, they paid high honours to Roma, and actually named the city after her, since she had been the occasion of their founding it. And from that time on, they say, it has been

[1] Cf. *Aeneid*, v. 604–699.

τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ οἰκείους ἄνδρας ἀσπάζεσθαι τοῖς στόμασι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνας, ὅτε τὰ πλοῖα κατέπρησαν, οὕτως ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, δεομένας αὐτῶν καὶ παραιτουμένας τὴν ὀργήν.

II. Ἄλλοι δὲ Ῥώμην, Ἰταλοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ Λευκαρίας, οἱ δέ, Τηλέφου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, Αἰνείᾳ γαμηθεῖσαν, οἱ δ' Ἀσκανίου τοῦ Αἰνείου, λέγουσι τοὔνομα θέσθαι τῇ πόλει· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμανόν, Ὀδυσσέως παῖδα καὶ Κίρκης, οἰκίσαι τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ Ῥῶμον ἐκ Τροίας ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἀποσταλέντα τὸν Ἡμαθίωνος, οἱ δὲ Ῥῶμιν Λατίνων τύραννον, ἐκβαλόντα Τυρρηνοὺς τοὺς εἰς Λυδίαν μὲν ἐκ Θετταλίας, ἐκ δὲ Λυδίας εἰς Ἰταλίαν παραγενομένους. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' οἱ Ῥωμύλον τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων ἀποφαίνοντες ἐπώνυμον τῆς πόλεως ὁμολογοῦσι περὶ τοῦ
2 γένους αὐτοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ Δεξιθέας τῆς Φόρβαντος υἱὸν ὄντα νήπιον εἰς Ἰταλίαν κομισθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ῥῶμον· ἐν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ πλημμύραντι τῶν ἄλλων σκαφῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ παῖδες εἰς μαλακὴν ἀποκλινθέντος ὄχθην ἀτρέμα, σωθέντας[1]
3 ἀπροσδοκήτως,[2] ὀνομασθῆναι Ῥώμην. οἱ δὲ Ῥώμην θυγατέρα τῆς Τρωάδος ἐκείνης Λατίνῳ τῷ Τηλεμάχου γαμηθεῖσαν τεκεῖν τὸν Ῥωμύλον· οἱ δὲ Αἰμυλίαν τὴν Αἰνείου καὶ Λαβινίας Ἄρει συγγενομένην· οἱ δὲ μυθώδη παντάπασι περὶ τῆς

[1] *σωθέντας* MSS., Coraës, Sintenis[1], and Bekker: *σωθέντος*.
[2] *ἀπροσδοκήτως* after this word, Bekker assumes a lacuna in the text.

customary for the women to salute their kinsmen and husbands with a kiss; for those women, after they had burned the ships, made use of such tender salutations as they supplicated their husbands and sought to appease their wrath.

II. Others again say that the Roma who gave her name to the city was a daughter of Italus and Leucaria, or, in another account, of Telephus the son of Heracles; and that she was married to Aeneas, or, in another version, to Ascanius the son of Aeneas. Some tell us that it was Romanus, a son of Odysseus and Circe, who colonized the city; others that it was Romus, who was sent from Troy by Diomedes the son of Emathion; and others still that it was Romis, tyrant of the Latins, after he had driven out the Tuscans, who passed from Thessaly into Lydia, and from Lydia into Italy. Moreover, even those writers who declare, in accordance with the most authentic tradition, that it was Romulus who gave his name to the city, do not agree about his lineage. For some say that he was a son of Aeneas and Dexithea the daughter of Phorbas, and was brought to Italy in his infancy, along with his brother Romus; that the rest of the vessels were destroyed in the swollen river, but the one in which the boys were was gently directed to a grassy bank, where they were unexpectedly saved, and the place was called Roma from them. Others say it was Roma, a daughter of the Trojan woman I have mentioned, who was wedded to Latinus the son of Telemachus and bore him Romulus; others that Aemilia, the daughter of Aeneas and Lavinia, bore him to Mars; and others still rehearse what is altogether fabulous concerning his

γενέσεως διεξίασι. Ταρχετίῳ γὰρ Ἀλβανῶν βασιλεῖ παρανομωτάτῳ καὶ ὠμοτάτῳ φάσμα δαιμόνιον οἴκοι γενέσθαι· φαλλὸν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἑστίας ἀνασχεῖν καὶ διαμένειν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας·
4 εἶναι δὲ Τηθύος ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ χρηστήριον, ἀφ' οὗ κομισθῆναι τῷ Ταρχετίῳ χρησμὸν ὥστε συμμῖξαι τῷ φάσματι παρθένον· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδα κλεινότατον ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ καὶ ῥώμῃ διαφέροντα. φράσαντος οὖν τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ Ταρχετίου μιᾷ τῶν θυγατέρων καὶ συγγενέσθαι τῷ φαλλῷ προστάξαντος, αὐτὴν μὲν
5 ἀπαξιῶσαι, θεράπαιναν δὲ εἰσπέμψαι. τὸν δὲ Ταρχέτιον, ὡς ἔγνω, χαλεπῶς φέροντα συλλαβεῖν μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, τὴν δ' Ἑστίαν ἰδόντα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀπαγορεύουσαν αὐτῷ τὸν φόνον, ἱστόν τινα παρεγγυῆσαι ταῖς κόραις ὑφαίνειν δεδεμέναις, ὡς ὅταν ἐξυφήνωσι, τότε δοθησομένας πρὸς γάμον. ἐκείνας μὲν οὖν δι' ἡμέρας ὑφαίνειν, ἑτέρας δὲ νύκτωρ τοῦ Ταρχετίου κελεύοντος ἀναλύειν τὸν ἱστόν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φαλλοῦ τῆς θεραπαινίδος τεκούσης δίδυμα, δοῦναί τινι Τερατίῳ τὸν Ταρχέτιον ἀνελεῖν κελεύσαντα.
6 τὸν δὲ θεῖναι φέροντα τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλησίον· εἶτα λύκαιναν μὲν ἐπιφοιτᾶν μαστὸν ἐνδιδοῦσαν, ὄρνιθας δὲ παντοδαποὺς ψωμίσματα κομίζοντας ἐντιθέναι τοῖς βρέφεσιν, ἄχρι οὗ βουκόλον ἰδόντα καὶ θαυμάσαντα τολμῆσαι προσελθεῖν καὶ ἀνελέσθαι τὰ παιδία. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἐκτραφέντας ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Ταρχετίῳ καὶ κρατῆσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Προ-

origin. For instance, they say that Tarchetius, king of the Albans, who was most lawless and cruel, was visited with a strange phantom in his house, namely, a phallus rising out of the hearth and remaining there many days. Now there was an oracle of Tethys in Tuscany, from which there was brought to Tarchetius a response that a virgin must have intercourse with this phantom, and she should bear a son most illustrious for his valour, and of surpassing good fortune and strength. Tarchetius, accordingly, told the prophecy to one of his daughters, and bade her consort with the phantom ; but she disdained to do so, and sent a handmaid in to it. When Tarchetius learned of this, he was wroth, and seized both the maidens, purposing to put them to death. But the goddess Hestia appeared to him in his sleep and forbade him the murder. He therefore imposed upon the maidens the weaving of a certain web in their imprisonment, assuring them that when they had finished the weaving of it, they should then be given in marriage. By day, then, these maidens wove, but by night other maidens, at the command of Tarchetius, unravelled their web. And when the handmaid became the mother of twin children by the phantom, Tarchetius gave them to a certain Teratius with orders to destroy them. This man, however, carried them to the river-side and laid them down there. Then a she-wolf visited the babes and gave them suck, while all sorts of birds brought morsels of food and put them into their mouths, until a cow-herd spied them, conquered his amazement, ventured to come to them, and took the children home with him. Thus they were saved, and when they were grown up, they set upon Tarchetius and overcame him.

μαθίων τις ἱστορίαν Ἰταλικὴν συντεταγμένος εἴρηκε.

III. Τοῦ δὲ πίστιν ἔχοντος λόγου μάλιστα καὶ πλείστους μάρτυρας τὰ μὲν κυριώτατα πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξέδωκε Διοκλῆς Πεπαρήθιος, ᾧ καὶ Φάβιος ὁ Πίκτωρ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπηκολούθηκε. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἕτεραι
2 διαφοραί· τύπῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτός ἐστι. τῶν ἀπ' Αἰνείου γεγονότων ἐν Ἄλβῃ βασιλέων εἰς ἀδελφοὺς δύο, Νομήτορα καὶ Ἀμούλιον, ἡ διαδοχὴ καθῆκεν. Ἀμουλίου δὲ νείμαντος τὰ πάντα δίχα, τῇ δὲ βασιλείᾳ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν ἐκ Τροίας κομισθέντα χρυσὸν ἀντιθέντος, εἵλετο τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Νομήτωρ. ἔχων οὖν ὁ Ἀμούλιος τὰ χρήματα καὶ πλέον ἀπ' αὐτῶν δυνάμενος τοῦ Νομήτορος, τήν τε βασιλείαν ἀφείλετο ῥᾳδίως, καὶ φοβούμενος ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι παῖδας ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀπέδειξεν, ἄγαμον καὶ
3 παρθένον ἀεὶ βιωσομένην. ταύτην οἱ μὲν Ἰλίαν, οἱ δὲ Ῥέαν, οἱ δὲ Σιλουΐαν ὀνομάζουσι. φωρᾶται δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον κυοῦσα παρὰ τὸν καθεστῶτα ταῖς Ἑστιάσι νόμον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνήκεστα μὴ παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγάτηρ Ἀνθὼ παρῃτήσατο, δεηθεῖσα τοῦ πατρός· εἴρχθη δὲ καὶ δίαιταν εἶχεν ἀνεπίμικτον, ὅπως μὴ λάθοι τεκοῦσα τὸν Ἀμούλιον. ἔτεκε δὲ δύο παῖδας ὑπερφυεῖς
4 μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει. δι' ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Ἀμούλιος φοβηθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ὑπηρέτην λαβόντα ῥῖψαι. τοῦτον ἔνιοι Φαυστύλον ὀνομάζεσθαι

At any rate, this is what a certain Promathion says, who compiled a history of Italy.

III. But the story which has the widest credence and the greatest number of vouchers was first published among the Greeks, in its principal details, by Diocles of Peparethus, and Fabius Pictor follows him in most points. Here again there are variations in the story, but its general outline is as follows. The descendants of Aeneas reigned as kings in Alba, and the succession devolved at length upon two brothers, Numitor and Amulius.[1] Amulius divided the whole inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures and the gold which had been brought from Troy over against the kingdom, and Numitor chose the kingdom. Amulius, then, in possession of the treasure, and made more powerful by it than Numitor, easily took the kingdom away from his brother, and fearing lest that brother's daughter should have children, made her a priestess of Vesta, bound to live unwedded and a virgin all her days. Her name is variously given as Ilia, or Rhea, or Silvia. Not long after this, she was discovered to be with child, contrary to the established law for the Vestals.[2] She did not, however, suffer the capital punishment which was her due, because the king's daughter, Antho, interceded successfully in her behalf, but she was kept in solitary confinement, that she might not be delivered without the knowledge of Amulius. Delivered she was of two boys, and their size and beauty were more than human. Wherefore Amulius was all the more afraid, and ordered a servant to take the boys and cast them away. This servant's name was Faustulus, according to some, but others

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 3. [2] Cf. Livy, i. 4, 1–5.

λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' οὐ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνελόμενον. ἐνθέμενος οὖν εἰς σκάφην τὰ βρέφη, κατέβη μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ῥίψων, ἰδὼν δὲ κατιόντα πολλῷ ῥεύματι καὶ τραχυνόμενον ἔδεισε προσελθεῖν, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς ὄχθης καταθεὶς ἀπηλλάσσετο. τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ κατακλύζοντος ἡ πλήμμυρα τὴν σκάφην ὑπολαβοῦσα καὶ μετεωρίσασα πρᾴως κατήνεγκεν εἰς χωρίον ἐπιεικῶς μαλθακόν, ὃ νῦν Κερμαλὸν καλοῦσι, πάλαι δὲ Γερμανόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς γερμανοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν.

IV. Ἦν δὲ πλησίον ἐρινεός, ὃν Ῥωμινάλιον ἐκάλουν, ἢ διὰ τὸν Ῥωμύλον, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰ μηρυκώμενα τῶν θρεμμάτων ἐκεῖ διὰ τὴν σκιὰν ἐνδιάζειν, ἢ μάλιστα διὰ τὸν τῶν βρεφῶν θηλασμόν, ὅτι τήν τε θηλὴν ῥοῦμαν ὠνόμαζον οἱ παλαιοί, καὶ θεόν τινα τῆς ἐκτροφῆς τῶν νηπίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δοκοῦσαν ὀνομάζουσι Ῥουμιλίαν, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῇ νηφάλια, καὶ γάλα
2 τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπισπένδουσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοῖς βρέφεσι κειμένοις τήν τε λύκαιναν ἱστοροῦσι θηλαζομένην, καὶ δρυοκολάπτην τινὰ παρεῖναι συνεκτρέφοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα. νομίζεται δ' Ἄρεως ἱερὰ τὰ ζῷα· τὸν δὲ δρυοκολάπτην καὶ διαφερόντως Λατῖνοι σέβονται καὶ τιμῶσιν· ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα πίστιν ἔσχεν ἡ τεκοῦσα τὰ βρέφη τεκεῖν ἐξ Ἄρεως φάσκουσα. καίτοι τοῦτο παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἐξαπατηθεῖσαν λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμουλίου διαπαρθενευθεῖσαν ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπιφανέντος αὐτῇ καὶ συναρπάσαντος.

give this name to the man who took the boys up. Obeying the king's orders, the servant put the babes into a trough and went down towards the river, purposing to cast them in; but when he saw that the stream was much swollen and violent, he was afraid to go close up to it, and setting his burden down near the bank, went his way. Then the overflow of the swollen river took and bore up the trough, floating it gently along, and carried it down to a fairly smooth spot which is now called Kermalus, but formerly Germanus, perhaps because brothers are called "germani."

IV. Now there was a wild fig-tree hard by, which they called Ruminalis, either from Romulus, as is generally thought, or because cud-chewing, or *ruminating*, animals spent the noon-tide there for the sake of the shade, or best of all, from the suckling of the babes there; for the ancient Romans called the *teat* "ruma," and a certain goddess, who is thought to preside over the rearing of young children, is still called Rumilia, in sacrificing to whom no wine is used, and libations of milk are poured over her victims. Here, then, the babes lay, and the she-wolf of story here gave them suck,[1] and a woodpecker came to help in feeding them and to watch over them. Now these creatures are considered sacred to Mars, and the woodpecker is held in especial veneration and honour by the Latins, and this was the chief reason why the mother was believed when she declared that Mars was the father of her babes. And yet it is said that she was deceived into doing this, and was really deflowered by Amulius himself, who came to her in armour and ravished her.

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 4, 6–7.

3 Οἱ δὲ τοὔνομα τῆς τροφοῦ δι' ἀμφιβολίαν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκτροπὴν τῇ φήμῃ παρασχεῖν. λούπας γὰρ ἐκάλουν οἱ Λατῖνοι τῶν τε θηρίων τὰς λυκαίνας, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς ἑταιρούσας· εἶναι δὲ τοιαύτην τὴν Φαυστύλου γυναῖκα τοῦ τὰ βρέφη θρέψαντος, Ἄκκαν Λαρεντίαν ὄνομα. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ θύουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ χοὰς ἐπιφέρει τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου μηνὸς αὐτῇ[1] ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἱερεύς, καὶ Λαρεντίαν καλοῦσι τὴν ἑορτήν.

V. Ἑτέραν δὲ τιμῶσι Λαρεντίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. ὁ νεωκόρος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀλύων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ σχολῆς, προὔθετο πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διακυβεύειν, ὑπειπὼν ὅτι νικήσας μὲν αὐτὸς ἕξει τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστόν, ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τῷ θεῷ 2
τράπεζαν ἄφθονον παρέξει καὶ γυναῖκα καλὴν
2 συναναπαυσομένην. ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ τιθείς, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ ψήφους, ἀνεφάνη νικώμενος. εὐσυνθετεῖν δὲ βουλόμενος καὶ δικαιῶν ἐμμένειν τοῖς ὁρισθεῖσι, δεῖπνόν τε τῷ θεῷ παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τὴν Λαρεντίαν οὖσαν ὡραίαν, οὕπω δὲ ἐπιφανῆ, μισθωσάμενος, εἱστίασεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, κλίνην ὑποστορέσας, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον συνεῖρξεν, ὡς δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔξοντος αὐτήν.
3 καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐντυχεῖν λέγεται τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ κελεῦσαι βαδίζειν ἕωθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸν ἀπαντήσαντα πρῶτον ἀσπασαμένην ποιεῖσθαι φίλον. ἀπήντησεν οὖν αὐτῇ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνὴρ ἡλικίας τε πόρρω ἤκων καὶ

[1] αὐτῇ bracketed in Sintenis[2], to avoid the hiatus.

But some say that the name of the children's nurse, by its ambiguity, deflected the story into the realm of the fabulous. For the Latins not only called she-wolves "lupae," but also women of loose character, and such a woman was the wife of Faustulus, the foster-father of the infants, Acca Larentia by name. Yet the Romans sacrifice also to her, and in the month of April the priest of Mars pours libations in her honour, and the festival is called Larentalia.

V. They pay honours also to another Larentia, for the following reason. The keeper of the temple of Hercules, being at a loss for something to do, as it seems, proposed to the god a game of dice, with the understanding that if he won it himself, he should get some valuable present from the god; but if he lost, he would furnish the god with a bounteous repast and a lovely woman to keep him company for the night. On these terms the dice were thrown, first for the god, then for himself, when it appeared that he had lost. Wishing to keep faith, and thinking it right to abide by the contract, he prepared a banquet for the god, and engaging Larentia, who was then in the bloom of her beauty, but not yet famous,[1] he feasted her in the temple, where he had spread a couch, and after the supper locked her in, assured of course that the god would take possession of her. And verily it is said that the god did visit the woman, and bade her go early in the morning to the forum, salute the first man who met her, and make him her friend. She was met, accordingly, by one of the citizens who was well on in years and possessed of considerable property, but

[1] In *Morals*, p. 273 a, she is called a public courtezan.

συνειλοχὼς οὐσίαν ἱκανήν, ἄπαις δὲ καὶ βεβιω-
4 κὼς ἄνευ γυναικός, ὄνομα Ταρρούτιος. οὗτος
ἔγνω τὴν Λαρεντίαν καὶ ἠγάπησε, καὶ τελευτῶν
ἀπέλιπε κληρονόμον ἐπὶ πολλοῖς καὶ καλοῖς
κτήμασιν, ὧν ἐκείνη τὰ πλεῖστα τῷ δήμῳ κατὰ
διαθήκας ἔδωκε. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὴν ἔνδοξον οὖσαν
ἤδη καὶ θεοφιλῆ νομιζομένην, ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι
περὶ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν προτέραν
5 ἐκείνην Λαρεντίαν κεῖσθαι. καλεῖται δὲ νῦν ὁ
τόπος Βήλαυρον, ὅτι τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλάκις
ὑπερχεομένου διεπεραιοῦντο πορθμείοις κατὰ τοῦ-
το τὸ χωρίον εἰς ἀγοράν· τὴν δὲ πορθμείαν
βηλατούραν καλοῦσιν. ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν
εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον φέρουσαν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς πάροδον
ἱστίοις καταπεταννύναι τοὺς τὴν θέαν παρέ-
χοντας, ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχομένους· ῥωμαϊστὶ δὲ τὸ
ἱστίον βῆλον ὀνομάζουσι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει
τιμὰς ἡ δευτέρα Λαρεντία παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις.

VI. Τὰ δὲ βρέφη Φαυστύλος Ἀμουλίου συ-
φορβὸς ἀνείλετο λαθὼν ἅπαντας, ὡς δ' ἔνιοί
φασι τῶν εἰκότων ἐχόμενοι μᾶλλον, εἰδότος τοῦ
Νομήτορος καὶ συγχορηγοῦντος τροφὰς κρύφα
τοῖς τρέφουσι. καὶ γράμματα λέγονται καὶ
τἆλλα μανθάνειν οἱ παῖδες εἰς Γαβίους κομι-
2 σθέντες, ὅσα χρὴ τοὺς εὖ γεγονότας. κληθῆναι
δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς θηλῆς ἱστοροῦσι Ῥωμύλον
καὶ Ῥῶμον, ὅτι θηλάζοντες ὤφθησαν τὸ θηρίον.
ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν εὐγένεια καὶ νηπίων
ὄντων εὐθὺς ἐξέφαινε μεγέθει καὶ ἰδέᾳ τὴν φύσιν·
αὐξόμενοι δὲ θυμοειδεῖς ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ
ἀνδρώδεις καὶ φρονήματα πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα

childless, and unmarried all his life, by name Tarrutius. This man took Larentia to his bed and loved her well, and at his death left her heir to many and fair possessions, most of which she bequeathed to the people. And it is said that when she was now famous and regarded as the beloved of a god, she disappeared at the spot where the former Larentia also lies buried. This spot is now called Velabrum, because when the river overflowed, as it often did, they used to cross it at about this point in *ferry-boats*, to go to the forum, and their word for ferry is "velatura." But some say that it is so-called because from that point on, the street leading to the Hippodrome[1] from the forum is covered over with *sails* by the givers of a public spectacle, and the Roman word for sail is "velum." It is for these reasons that honours are paid to this second Larentia amongst the Romans.

VI. As for the babes, they were taken up and reared by Faustulus, a swineherd of Amulius, and no man knew of it; or, as some say with a closer approach to probability, Numitor did know of it, and secretly aided the foster-parents in their task. And it is said that the boys were taken to Gabii to learn letters and the other branches of knowledge which are meet for those of noble birth. Moreover, we are told that they were named, from "ruma," the Latin word for *teat*,[2] Romulus and Romus (or Remus), because they were seen sucking the wild beast. Well, the noble size and beauty of their bodies, even when they were infants, betokened their natural disposition; and when they grew up, they were both of them courageous and manly, with spirits which

[1] That is, the Circus Maximus. [2] Cf. chapter iv. 1.

δεινὰ καὶ τόλμαν ὅλως ἀνέκπληκτον ἔχοντες· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος γνώμῃ τε χρῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καὶ πολιτικὴν ἔχειν σύνεσιν, ἐν ταῖς περὶ νομὰς καὶ κυνηγίας πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας ἐπιμιξίαις πολλὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχων κατανόησιν ἡγεμονικοῦ
3 μᾶλλον ἢ πειθαρχικοῦ φύσει γεγονότος. διὸ τοῖς μὲν ὁμοφύλοις ἢ ταπεινοτέροις προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν, ἐπιστάτας δὲ καὶ διόπους βασιλικοὺς καὶ ἀγελάρχας, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας, ὑπερφρονοῦντες οὔτ' ἀπειλῆς ἐφρόντιζον οὔτε ὀργῆς. ἐχρῶντο δὲ διαίταις καὶ διατριβαῖς ἐλευθερίοις, οὐ τὴν σχολὴν ἐλευθέριον ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀπονίαν, ἀλλὰ γυμνάσια καὶ θήρας καὶ δρόμους καὶ τὸ λῃστὰς ἀμύνασθαι καὶ κλῶπας ἐλεῖν καὶ βίας ἐξελέσθαι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους. ἦσαν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα περιβόητοι.

VII. Γενομένης δέ τινος πρὸς τοὺς Νομήτορος βουκόλους τοῖς Ἀμουλίου διαφορᾶς καὶ βοσκημάτων ἐλάσεως, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι συγκόπτουσι μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τρέπονται, ἀποτέμνονται δὲ τῆς λείας συχνήν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Νομήτορος ὠλιγώρουν· συνῆγον δὲ καὶ προσεδέχοντο πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπόρους, πολλοὺς δὲ δούλους, θράσους �απο-
2 στατικοῦ καὶ φρονήματος ἀρχὰς ἐνδιδόντες. τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου πρός τινα θυσίαν ἀποτραπομένου (καὶ γὰρ ἦν φιλοθύτης καὶ μαντικός), οἱ τοῦ Νομήτορος βοτῆρες τῷ Ῥώμῳ μετ' ὀλίγων βαδίζοντι προστυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ γενομένων πληγῶν καὶ τραυμάτων ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Νομήτορος καὶ συνέλαβον ζῶντα τὸν

courted apparent danger, and a daring which nothing could terrify. But Romulus seemed to exercise his judgement more, and to have political sagacity, while in his intercourse with their neighbours in matters pertaining to herding and hunting, he gave them the impression that he was born to command rather than to obey. With their equals or inferiors they were therefore on friendly terms, but they looked down upon the overseers, bailiffs, and chief herdsmen of the king, believing them to be no better men than themselves, and disregarded both their threats and their anger. They also applied themselves to generous occupations and pursuits, not esteeming sloth and idleness generous, but rather bodily exercise, hunting, running, driving off robbers, capturing thieves, and rescuing the oppressed from violence. For these things, indeed, they were famous far and near.

VII. When a quarrel arose between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius,[1] and some of the latter's cattle were driven off, the brothers would not suffer it, but fell upon the robbers, put them to flight, and intercepted most of the booty. To the displeasure of Numitor they gave little heed, but collected and took into their company many needy men and many slaves, exhibiting thus the beginnings of seditious boldness and temper. But once when Romulus was busily engaged in some sacrifice, being fond of sacrifices and of divination, the herdsmen of Numitor fell in with Remus as he was walking with few companions, and a battle ensued. After blows and wounds given and received on both sides, the herdsmen of Numitor prevailed and took Remus prisoner, who was

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 5, 3 ff.

Ῥῶμον. ἀναχθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Νομήτορα καὶ κατηγορηθέντος, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐκόλασε, χαλεπὸν ὄντα δεδιὼς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐδεῖτο τυχεῖν δίκης, ἀδελφὸς ὢν καὶ καθυβρισμένος ὑπὸ οἰκετῶν ἐκείνου βασιλέως
3 ὄντος. συναγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἄλβῃ καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν οἰομένων τὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἀξίαν, κινηθεὶς ὁ Ἀμούλιος αὐτῷ παραδίδωσι τῷ Νομήτορι τὸν Ῥῶμον ὅ τι βούλοιτο χρήσασθαι.

Παραλαβὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ἦκεν οἴκαδε, θαυμάζων μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὸν νεανίσκον ὑπερφέροντα μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ πάντας, ἐνορῶν δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ θαρραλέον καὶ ἰταμὸν τῆς ψυχῆς
4 ἀδούλωτον καὶ ἀπαθὲς ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ἔργα δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξεις ὁμοια τοῖς βλεπομένοις ἀκούων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὡς ἔοικε, θεοῦ συμπαρόντος καὶ συνεπευθύνοντος ἀρχὰς μεγάλων πραγμάτων, ἁπτόμενος ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀνέκρινεν ὅστις εἴη καὶ ὅπως γένοιτο, φωνῇ τε πραείᾳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ βλέμματι
5 πίστιν αὐτῷ μετ' ἐλπίδος ἐνδιδούς. ὁ δὲ θαρρῶν ἔλεγεν· "Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀποκρύψομαί σε· καὶ γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖς Ἀμουλίου βασιλικώτερος. ἀκούεις γὰρ καὶ ἀνακρίνεις πρὶν ἢ κολάζειν· ὁ δ' ἀκρίτους ἐκδίδωσι. πρότερον μὲν ἑαυτοὺς οἰκετῶν βασιλέως Φαυστύλου καὶ Λαρεντίας ἠπιστάμεθα παῖδας (ἐσμὲν δὲ δίδυμοι), γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν αἰτίᾳ πρὸς σὲ καὶ διαβολαῖς καὶ τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶσιν, ἀκούομεν μεγάλα περὶ ἑαυτῶν· εἰ δὲ
6 πιστά, κρίνειν ἔοικε νῦν ὁ κίνδυνος. γοναὶ μὲν

then carried before Numitor and denounced. Numitor himself did not punish his prisoner, because he was in fear of his brother Amulius, who was severe, but went to Amulius and asked for justice, since he was his brother, and had been insulted by the royal servants. The people of Alba, too, were incensed, and thought that Numitor had been undeservedly outraged. Amulius was therefore induced to hand Remus over to Numitor himself, to treat him as he saw fit.

When Numitor came home, after getting Remus into his hands, he was amazed at the young man's complete superiority in stature and strength of body, and perceiving by his countenance that the boldness and vigour of his soul were unsubdued and unharmed by his present circumstances, and hearing that his acts and deeds corresponded with his looks, but chiefly, as it would seem, because a divinity was aiding and assisting in the inauguration of great events, he grasped the truth by a happy conjecture, and asked him who he was and what were the circumstances of his birth, while his gentle voice and kindly look inspired the youth with confidence and hope. Then Remus boldly said: "Indeed, I will hide nothing from thee; for thou seemest to be more like a king than Amulius; thou hearest and weighest before punishing, but he surrenders men without a trial. Formerly we believed ourselves (my twin brother and I) children of Faustulus and Larentia, servants of the king; but since being accused and slandered before thee and brought in peril of our lives, we hear great things concerning ourselves; whether they are true or not, our present danger is likely to decide. Our birth is said to have been secret, and

γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀπόρρητοι λέγονται, τροφαὶ δὲ καὶ τιθηνήσεις ἀτοπώτεραι νεογνῶν, οἷς ἐρρίφημεν οἰωνοῖς καὶ θηρίοις, ὑπὸ τούτων τρεφόμενοι, μαστῷ λυκαίνης καὶ δρυοκολάπτου ψωμίσμασιν, ἐν σκάφῃ τινὶ κείμενοι παρὰ τὸν μέγαν ποταμόν. ἔστι δ' ἡ σκάφη καὶ σώζεται, χαλκοῖς ὑποζώσμασι γραμμάτων ἀμυδρῶν ἐγκεχαραγμένων, ἃ γένοιτ' ἂν ἴσως ὕστερον ἀνωφελῆ γνωρίσματα
7 τοῖς τοκεῦσιν ἡμῶν ἀπολομένων."

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νομήτωρ ἔκ τε τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν εἰκάζων τὸν χρόνον, οὐκ ἔφευγε τὴν ἐλπίδα σαίνουσαν, ἀλλ' ἐφρόντιζεν ὅπως τῇ θυγατρὶ περὶ τούτων κρύφα συγγενόμενος φράσειεν· ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ ἔτι καρτερῶς.

VIII. Ὁ δὲ Φαυστύλος ἀκούσας τήν τε σύλληψιν τοῦ Ῥώμου καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν, τὸν μὲν Ῥωμύλον ἠξίου βοηθεῖν, τότε σαφῶς διδάξας περὶ τῆς γενέσεως· πρότερον δὲ ὑπηνίττετο καὶ παρεδήλου τοσοῦτον ὅσον προσέχοντας μὴ μικρὸν
2 φρονεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν σκάφην κομίζων ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸν Νομήτορα, σπουδῆς καὶ δέους μεστὸς ὢν διὰ τὸν καιρόν. ὑποψίαν οὖν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῖς τοῦ βασιλέως παρέχων, καὶ ὑφορώμενος[1] ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ταραττόμενος περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οὐκ ἔλαθε τὴν σκάφην τῷ χλαμυδίῳ περικαλύπτων. ἦν δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τύχης τῶν τὰ παιδία ῥῖψαι λαβόντων καὶ γεγονότων περὶ τὴν ἔκθεσιν. οὗτος ἰδὼν τὴν σκάφην τότε, καὶ γνωρίσας τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τοῖς γράμ-

[1] ὑφορώμενος corrected by Bekker to ἐρωτώμενος (*questioned*).

our nursing and nurture as infants stranger still. We were cast out to birds of prey and wild beasts, only to be nourished by them,—by the dugs of a she-wolf and the morsels of a woodpecker, as we lay in a little trough by the side of the great river. The trough still exists and is kept safe, and its bronze girdles are engraved with letters now almost effaced, which may perhaps hereafter prove unavailing tokens of recognition for our parents, when we are dead and gone."

Then Numitor, hearing these words, and conjecturing the time which had elapsed from the young man's looks, welcomed the hope that flattered him, and thought how he might talk with his daughter concerning these matters in a secret interview; for she was still kept in the closest custody.

VIII. But Faustulus, on hearing that Remus had been seized and delivered up to Numitor, called upon Romulus to go to his aid, and then told him clearly the particulars of their birth; before this also he had hinted at the matter darkly, and revealed enough to give them ambitious thoughts when they dwelt upon it. He himself took the trough and went to see Numitor, full of anxious fear lest he might not be in season. Naturally enough, the guards at the king's gate were suspicious of him, and when he was scrutinized by them and made confused replies to their questions, he was found to be concealing the trough in his cloak. Now by chance there was among the guards one of those who had taken the boys to cast them into the river, and were concerned in their exposure. This man, now seeing the trough, and recognizing it by its

μασιν, ἔτυχεν ὑπονοίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ οὐ παρημέλησεν, ἀλλὰ φράσας τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ βασιλεῖ
3 κατέστησεν εἰς ἔλεγχον. ἐν δὲ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀνάγκαις ὁ Φαυστύλος οὔτ' ἀήττητον ἑαυτὸν διεφύλαξεν οὔτε παντάπασιν ἐκβιασθείς, σώζεσθαι μὲν ὡμολόγησε τοὺς παῖδας, εἶναι δ' ἄπωθεν τῆς Ἄλβης ἔφη νέμοντας· αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν Ἰλίαν φέρων βαδίζειν, πολλάκις ἰδεῖν καὶ θιγεῖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι βεβαιοτέρᾳ τῶν τέκνων ποθήσασαν.

4 Ὅπερ οὖν οἱ ταραττόμενοι καὶ μετὰ δέους ἢ πρὸς ὀργὴν πράττοντες ὁτιοῦν ἐπιεικῶς πάσχουσι, συνέπεσε παθεῖν τὸν Ἀμούλιον. ἄνδρα γὰρ ἄλλῃ 22
τε χρηστὸν καὶ τοῦ Νομήτορος φίλον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔπεμψε, διαπυθέσθαι τοῦ Νομήτορος κελεύσας εἴ τις ἥκοι λόγος εἰς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν
5 παίδων ὡς περιγενομένων. ἀφικόμενος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ θεασάμενος ὅσον οὔπω τὸν Ῥῶμον ἐν περιβολαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις τοῦ Νομήτορος, τήν τε πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίησε τὴς ἐλπίδος καὶ παρεκελεύσατο τῶν πραγμάτων ὀξέως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ συνῆν αὐτὸς ἤδη καὶ συνέπραττεν. ὁ δὲ καιρὸς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ὀκνεῖν παρεῖχεν. ὁ γὰρ Ῥωμύλος ἐγγὺς ἦν ἤδη, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξέθεον οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν πολιτῶν μίσει
6 καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ Ἀμουλίου. Πολλὴν δὲ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἦγε συλλελοχισμένην εἰς ἑκατοστύας· ἑκάστης δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀφηγεῖτο χόρτου καὶ ὕλης ἀγκαλίδα κοντῷ περικειμένην ἀνέχων· μανίπλα ταύτας Λατῖνοι καλοῦσιν· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασι τούτους μανιπλαρίους ὀνομάζουσιν. ἅμα δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ῥώμου

make and inscription, conceived a suspicion of the truth, and without any delay told the matter to the king, and brought the man before him to be examined. In these dire and pressing straits, Faustulus did not entirely hold his own, nor yet was his secret wholly forced from him. He admitted that the boys were alive and well, but said they lived at a distance from Alba as herdsmen; he himself was carrying the trough to Ilia, who had often yearned to see and handle it, in confirmation of her hope for her children.

As, then, men naturally fare who are confounded, and act with fear or in a passion, so it fell out that Amulius fared. For he sent in all haste an excellent man and a friend of Numitor's, with orders to learn from Numitor whether any report had come to him of the children's being alive. When, accordingly, the man was come, and beheld Remus almost in the affectionate embraces of Numitor, he confirmed them in their confident hope, and entreated them to proceed at once to action, promptly joining their party himself and furthering their cause. And the opportunity admitted of no delay, even had they wished it; for Romulus was now close at hand, and many of the citizens who hated and feared Amulius were running forth to join him. He was also leading a large force with him, divided into companies of a hundred men, each company headed by a man who bore aloft a handful of hay and shrubs tied round a pole (the Latin word for *handful* is "manipulus," and hence in their armies they still call the men in such companies "manipulares."). And when Remus incited the

τοὺς ἐντὸς ἀφιστάντος, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου προσάγοντος ἔξωθεν, οὔτε πράξας οὐδὲν ὁ τύραννος οὔτε βουλεύσας σωτήριον ἑαυτῷ, διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν καὶ ταράττεσθαι, καταληφθεὶς ἀπέθανεν.

7 Ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου λέγοντος καὶ τοῦ Πεπαρηθίου Διοκλέους, ὃς δοκεῖ πρῶτος ἐκδοῦναι Ῥώμης κτίσιν, ὕποπτον μὲν ἐνίοις ἐστὶ τὸ δραματικὸν καὶ πλασματῶδες, οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν τὴν τύχην ὁρῶντας οἵων ποιημάτων δημιουργός ἐστι, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα λογιζομένους ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προῦβη δυνάμεως, μὴ θείαν τινὰ ἀρχὴν λαβόντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσαν.

IX. Ἀμουλίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καταστάντων, Ἄλβην μὲν οὔτ' οἰκεῖν μὴ ἄρχοντες οὔτ' ἄρχειν ἐβούλοντο τοῦ μητροπάτορος ζῶντος, ἀποδόντες δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τιμὰς πρεπούσας, ἔγνωσαν οἰκεῖν καθ' ἑαυτούς, πόλιν ἐν οἷς χωρίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς· ἐνετράφησαν κτίσαντες· αὕτη γὰρ εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν
2 αἰτιῶν ἐστιν. ἦν δ' ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον, οἰκετῶν καὶ ἀποστατῶν πολλῶν ἠθροισμένων πρὸς αὐτούς, ἢ καταλυθῆναι παντάπασι τούτων διασπαρέντων ἢ συνοικεῖν ἰδίᾳ μετ' αὐτῶν. ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἠξίουν οἱ τὴν Ἄλβην οἰκοῦντες ἀναμιγνύναι τοὺς ἀποστάτας ἑαυτοῖς οὐδὲ προσδέχεσθαι πολίτας, ἐδήλωσε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔργον, οὐχ ὕβρει τολμηθέν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀνάγκην, ἑκουσίων

citizens within the city to revolt, and at the same time Romulus attacked from without, the tyrant, without taking a single step or making any plan for his own safety, from sheer perplexity and confusion, was seized and put to death.

Although most of these particulars are related by Fabius and Diocles of Peparethus, who seems to have been the first to publish a "Founding of Rome," some are suspicious of their fictitious and fabulous quality; but we should not be incredulous when we see what a poet fortune sometimes is, and when we reflect that the Roman state would not have attained to its present power, had it not been of a divine origin, and one which was attended by great marvels.

IX. Amulius being now dead, and matters settled in the city, the brothers were neither willing to live in Alba, unless as its rulers, nor to be its rulers while their grandfather was alive. Having therefore restored the government to him and paid fitting honours to their mother, they resolved to dwell by themselves, and to found a city in the region where, at the first, they were nourished and sustained;[1] this surely seems a most fitting reason for their course. But perhaps it was necessary, now that many slaves and fugitives were gathered about them, either to disperse these and have no following at all, or else to dwell apart with them. For that the residents of Alba would not consent to give the fugitives the privilege of intermarriage with them, nor even receive them as fellow-citizens, is clear, in the first place, from the rape of the Sabine women,[2] which was not a deed of wanton daring, but one of necessity, owing to the lack of marriages by consent;

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 6, 3 f. [2] See chapter xiv.

ἀπορίᾳ γάμων· ἐτίμησαν γὰρ αὐτὰς ἁρπάσαντες
3 περιττῶς. ἔπειτα τῆς πόλεως τὴν πρώτην
ἵδρυσιν λαμβανούσης, ἱερόν τι φύξιμον τοῖς ἀφι-
σταμένοις κατασκευάσαντες, ὃ Θεοῦ Ἀσυλαίου
προσηγόρευον, ἐδέχοντο πάντας, οὔτε δεσπόταις
δοῦλον οὔτε θῆτα χρήσταις οὔτ' ἄρχουσιν ἀνδρο-
φόνον ἐκδιδόντες, ἀλλὰ μαντεύματι πυθοχρήστῳ
πᾶσι βεβαιοῦν τὴν ἀσυλίαν φάσκοντες, ὥστε
πληθῦσαι ταχὺ τὴν πόλιν· ἐπεὶ τάς γε πρώτας
ἑστίας λέγουσι τῶν χιλίων μὴ πλείονας γενέσθαι.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

4 Ὥρμησασι δὲ πρὸς τὸν συνοικισμὸν αὐτοῖς
εὐθὺς ἦν διαφορὰ περὶ τοῦ τόπου. Ῥωμύλος μὲν
οὖν τὴν καλουμένην Ῥώμην κουαδράτην, ὅπερ
ἐστὶ τετράγωνον, ἔκτισε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐβούλετο
πολίζειν τὸν τόπον, Ῥῶμος δὲ χωρίον τι τοῦ
Ἀβεντίνου καρτερόν, ὃ δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὠνομάσθη
5 Ῥεμώνιον, νῦν δὲ Ῥιγνάριον καλεῖται. συνθε-
μένων δὲ τὴν ἔριν ὄρνισιν αἰσίοις βραβεῦσαι καὶ
καθεζομένων χωρίς, ἔξ φασι τῷ Ῥώμῳ, διπλα-
σίους δὲ τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ προφανῆναι γῦπας. οἱ δὲ
τὸν μὲν Ῥῶμον ἀληθῶς ἰδεῖν, ψεύσασθαι δὲ τὸν
Ῥωμύλον· ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥώμου, τότε τοὺς
δώδεκα τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ φανῆναι, διὸ καὶ νῦν μάλιστα
χρῆσθαι γυψὶ Ῥωμαίους οἰωνιζομένους.

Ἡρόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἡρα- 2
6 κλέα χαίρειν γυπὸς ἐπὶ πράξει φανέντος. ἔστι
μὲν γὰρ ἀβλαβέστατον ζῴων ἁπάντων, μηδὲν ὧν

for they certainly honoured the women, when they had carried them off, beyond measure. And in the second place, when their city was first founded, they made a sanctuary of refuge for all fugitives,[1] which they called the sanctuary of the God of Asylum. There they received all who came, delivering none up, neither slave to masters, nor debtor to creditors, nor murderer to magistrates, but declaring it to be in obedience to an oracle from Delphi that they made the asylum secure for all men. Therefore the city was soon full of people, for they say that the first houses numbered no more than a thousand. This, however, was later.

But when they set out to establish their city, a dispute at once arose concerning the site. Romulus, accordingly, built Roma Quadrata (which means *square*), and wished to have the city on that site; but Remus laid out a strong precinct on the Aventine hill, which was named from him Remonium, but now is called Rignarium. Agreeing to settle their quarrel by the flight of birds of omen,[2] and taking their seats on the ground apart from one another, six vultures, they say, were seen by Remus, and twice that number by Romulus. Some, however, say that whereas Remus truly saw his six, Romulus lied about his twelve, but that when Remus came to him, then he did see the twelve. Hence it is that at the present time also the Romans chiefly regard vultures when they take auguries from the flight of birds.

Herodorus Ponticus relates that Hercules also was glad to see a vulture present itself when he was upon an exploit. For it is the least harmful

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 8, 5 f. [2] Cf. Livy, i. 7, 1.

σπείρουσιν ἢ φυτεύουσιν ἢ νέμουσιν ἄνθρωποι σινόμενον, τρέφεται δὲ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν σωμάτων, ἀποκτίννυσι δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λυμαίνεται ψυχὴν ἔχον, πτηνοῖς δὲ διὰ συγγένειαν οὐδὲ νεκροῖς πρόσεισιν. ἀετοὶ δὲ καὶ γλαῦκες καὶ ἱέρακες ζῶντα κόπτουσι τὰ ὁμόφυλα καὶ φονεύουσι· καίτοι κατ' Αἰσχύλον·

Ὄρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἀγνεύοι φαγών;

7 ἔτι τἆλλα μὲν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀναστρέφεται καὶ παρέχει διὰ παντὸς αἴσθησιν ἑαυτῶν· ὁ δὲ γὺψ σπάνιόν ἐστι θέαμα καὶ νεοσσοῖς γυπὸς οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἴσμεν ἐντετυχηκότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρέσχεν ἐνίοις ἄτοπον ὑπόνοιαν, ἔξωθεν αὐτοὺς ἀφ' ἑτέρας τινὸς γῆς καταίρειν ἐνταῦθα, τὸ σπάνιον καὶ μὴ συνεχές, οἷον οἱ μάντεις ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι τὸ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν μηδ' ἀφ' αὑτοῦ, πομπῇ δὲ θείᾳ φαινόμενον.

Χ. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔγνω τὴν ἀπάτην ὁ Ῥῶμος, ἐχαλέπαινε, καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου τάφρον ὀρύττοντος ἢ τὸ τεῖχος ἔμελλε κυκλοῦσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐχλεύαζε τῶν ἔργων, τοῖς δ' ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο. τέλος δὲ διαλλόμενον αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμύλου πατάξαντος, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἑταίρων τινὸς Κέλερος, ἐνταῦθα
2 πεσεῖν λέγουσιν. ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ Φαυστύλος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Πλειστῖνος, ὃν ἀδελφὸν ὄντα Φαυστύλου συνεκθρέψαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἱστοροῦσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κέλερ εἰς Τυρρηνίαν μετέστη καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοὺς ταχεῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὀξεῖς κέλερας ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ Κόϊντον Μέτελλον, ὅτι

of all creatures, injures no grain, fruit-tree, or cattle, and lives on carrion. But it does not kill or maltreat anything that has life, and as for birds, it will not touch them even when they are dead, since they are of its own species. But eagles, owls, and hawks smite their own kind when alive, and kill them. And yet, in the words of Aeschylus :—[1]

"How shall a bird that preys on fellow bird be clean?"

Besides, other birds are, so to speak, always in our eyes, and let themselves be seen continually; but the vulture is a rare sight, and it is not easy to come upon a vulture's young, nay, some men have been led into a strange suspicion that the birds come from some other and foreign land to visit us here, so rare and intermittent is their appearance, which soothsayers think should be true of what does not present itself naturally, nor spontaneously, but by a divine sending.

X. When Remus knew of the deceit, he was enraged,[2] and as Romulus was digging a trench where his city's wall was to run, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others. At last, when he leaped across it, he was smitten (by Romulus himself, as some say; according to others, by Celer, one of his companions), and fell dead there. Faustulus also fell in the battle, as well as Pleistinus, who was a brother of Faustulus, and assisted him in rearing Romulus and Remus. Celer, at any rate, betook himself to Tuscany, and from him the Romans call such as are swift and speedy, "celeres." Quintus Metellus, for instance, when his father died,

[1] *Suppliants*, 226 (Dindorf). [2] Cf. Livy, i. 7, 2.

τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος ἀγῶνα μονομάχων ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις ἐποίησε, θαυμάσαντες τὸ τάχος τῆς παρασκευῆς Κέλερα προσηγόρευσαν.

XI. Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐν τῇ Ῥεμωνίᾳ[1] θάψας τὸν Ῥῶμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς τροφεῖς, ᾤκιζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας ἱεροῖς τισι θεσμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν ὑφηγουμένους ἕκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ. βόθρος γὰρ ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερής, ἀπαρχαί τε πάντων, ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο, φύσει δ' ὡς ἀναγκαίοις, ἀπετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ τέλος, ἐξ ἧς ἀφῖκτο γῆς ἕκαστος ὀλίγην κομίζων μοῖραν, ἔβαλλον εἰς ταὐτα καὶ
2 συνεμίγνυον. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον τοῦτον ᾠ καὶ τὸν ὄλυμπον ὀνόματι μοῦνδον. εἶτα ὥσπερ κύκλον κέντρῳ περιέγραψαν τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δ' οἰκιστὴς ἐμβαλὼν ἀρότρῳ χαλκῆν ὖνιν, ὑποζεύξας δὲ βοῦν ἄρρενα καὶ θήλειαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπάγει περιελαύνων αὔλακα βαθεῖαν τοῖς τέρμασι, τῶν δ' ἑπομένων ἔργον ἐστίν, ἃς ἀνίστησι βώλους τὸ ἄροτρον καταστρέφειν εἴσω, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔξω
3 περιορᾶν ἐκτρεπομένην. τῇ μὲν οὖν γραμμῇ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφορίζουσι καὶ καλεῖται κατὰ συγκοπὴν πωμήριον, οἷον ὄπισθεν τείχους ἢ μετὰ τεῖχος· ὅπου δὲ πύλην ἐμβαλεῖν διανοοῦνται, τὴν ὖνιν ἐξελόντες καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον ὑπερθέντες διάλειμμα

[1] Ῥεμωνίᾳ Coraës and Bekker, with C : Ῥεμορίᾳ.

took only a few days to provide gladiatorial contests in his honour, and the people were so amazed at his speed in preparing them that they gave him the surname of Celer.

XI. Romulus buried Remus, together with his foster-fathers, in the Remonia,[1] and then set himself to building his city, after summoning from Tuscany men who prescribed all the details in accordance with certain sacred ordinances and writings, and taught them to him as in a religious rite. A circular trench was dug around what is now the Comitium,[2] and in this were deposited first-fruits of all things the use of which was sanctioned by custom as good and by nature as necessary; and finally, every man brought a small portion of the soil of his native land, and these were cast in among the first-fruits and mingled with them. They call this trench, as they do the heavens, by the name of "mundus." Then, taking this as a centre, they marked out the city in a circle round it. And the founder, having shod a plough with a brazen ploughshare, and having yoked to it a bull and a cow, himself drove a deep furrow round the boundary lines, while those who followed after him had to turn the clods, which the plough threw up, inwards towards the city, and suffer no clod to lie turned outwards. With this line they mark out the course of the wall, and it is called, by contraction, "pomerium," that is "post murum," *behind* or *next the wall*. And where they purposed to put in a gate, there they took the share out of the ground, lifted the plough over, and left a vacant

[1] See chapter ix. 4.

[2] A space adjoining the forum where the people met in assembly. The *mundus*, or augural centre of the city, was really on the Palatine.

ποιοῦσιν. ὅθεν ἅπαν τὸ τεῖχος ἱερὸν πλὴν τῶν πυλῶν νομίζουσι· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἱερὰς νομίζοντας οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ δεισιδαιμονίας τὰ μὲν δέχεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἀποπέμπειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ μὴ καθαρῶν.

XII. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ κτίσις ἡμέρᾳ γένοιτο τῇ πρὸ ἕνδεκα καλανδῶν Μαΐων ὁμολογεῖται· καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἑορτάζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, γενέθλιον τῆς πατρίδος ὀνομάζοντες. ἐν ἀρχῇ δ', ὥς φασιν, οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον ἔθυον, ἀλλὰ καθαρὰν καὶ ἀναίμακτον ᾠοντο δεῖν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς γενέσεως ἑορτὴν φυλάττειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ 2
καὶ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως βοτηρική τις ἦν αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ Παρίλια προσηγόρευον αὐτήν.

2 Νῦν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αἱ Ῥωμαϊκαὶ νουμηνίαι πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ὁμολογούμενον ἔχουσιν· ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν, ᾗ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἔκτιζεν, ἀτρεκῆ τριακάδα τυχεῖν λέγουσι· καὶ σύνοδον ἐκλειπτικὴν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι σελήνης πρὸς ἥλιον, ἣν εἰδέναι καὶ Ἀντίμαχον οἴονται, τὸν Τήϊον ἐποποιόν, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς ἕκτης ὀλυμ-
3 πιάδος συμπεσοῦσαν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ Βάρρωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον χρόνοις, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἐν ἱστορίᾳ βιβλιακώτατον, ἦν Ταρούτιος ἑταῖρος αὐτοῦ, φιλόσοφος μὲν ἄλλως καὶ μαθηματικός, ἁπτόμενος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν πίνακα μεθόδου θεωρίας
4 ἕνεκα καὶ δοκῶν ἐν αὐτῇ περιττὸς εἶναι. τούτῳ προὔβαλεν ὁ Βάρρων ἀναγαγεῖν τὴν Ῥωμύλου γένεσιν εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν, ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ἀποτελεσμάτων περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ποιησάμενον τὸν συλλογισμόν, ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν γεωμετρικῶν ὑφη-

space. And this is the reason why they regard all the wall as sacred except the gates; but if they held the gates sacred, it would not be possible, without religious scruples, to bring into and send out of the city things which are necessary, and yet unclean.

XII. Now it is agreed that the city was founded on the twenty-first of April, and this day the Romans celebrate with a festival, calling it the birthday of their country. And at first, as it is said, they sacrificed no living creature at that festival, but thought they ought to keep it pure and without stain of blood, since it commemorated the birth of their country. However, even before the founding of the city, they had a pastoral festival on that day, and called it Parilia.

At the present time, indeed, there is no agreement between the Roman and Greek months, but they say that the day on which Romulus founded his city was precisely the thirtieth of the month, and that on that day there was a conjunction of the sun and moon, with an eclipse, which they think was the one seen by Antimachus, the epic poet of Teos, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.[1] And in the times of Varro the philosopher, a Roman who was most deeply versed in history, there lived Tarutius, a companion of his, who, besides being a philosopher and a mathematician, had applied himself to the art of casting nativities, in order to indulge a speculative turn of mind, and was thought to excel in it. To this man Varro gave the problem of fixing the day and hour of the birth of Romulus, making his deductions from the conjunctions of events reported in the man's life, just as the solutions of

[1] 754 B.C.

γοῦνται προβλημάτων ἀναλύσεις· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς θεωρίας εἶναι χρόνον τε λαβόντας ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως βίον προειπεῖν καὶ βίῳ δοθέντι θηρεῦσαι χρόνον. ἐποίησεν οὖν τὸ προσταχθὲν ὁ 5 Ταρούτιος, καὶ τά τε πάθη καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδὼν καὶ χρόνον ζωῆς καὶ τρόπον τελευτῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα συνθείς, εὖ μάλα τεθαρρηκότως καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀπεφήνατο τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ μητρὶ γεγονέναι τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σύλληψιν ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν μηνὶ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Χοιάκ, τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, τρίτης ὥρας, καθ' ἣν ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε παντελῶς· τὴν δ' ἐμφανῆ γένεσιν ἐν μηνὶ Θωύθ, ἡμέρᾳ 6 πρώτῃ μετ' εἰκάδα, περὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς. κτισθῆναι δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐνάτῃ Φαρμουθὶ μηνὸς ἰσταμένου, μεταξὺ δευτέρας ὥρας καὶ τρίτης· ἐπεὶ καὶ πόλεως τύχην, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου, κύριον ἔχειν οἴονται χρόνον, ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐποχὰς θεωρούμενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ ξένῳ καὶ περιττῷ προσάξεται μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐνοχλήσει τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτοῖς.

XIII. Κτισθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτον μὲν ὅσον ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πλῆθος εἰς συντάγματα στρατιωτικὰ διεῖλεν· ἕκαστον δὲ σύνταγμα πεζῶν τρισχιλίων ἦν καὶ τριακοσίων ἱππέων. ἐκλήθη δὲ λεγεὼν τῷ λογάδας εἶναι τοὺς μαχίμους ἐκ πάντων. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐχρῆτο δήμῳ καὶ ποπούλους ὠνομάσθη τὸ πλῆθος· ἑκατὸν δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀπέδειξε βουλευτάς, καὶ αὐτοὺς

geometrical problems are derived; for the same science, he said, must be capable not only of foretelling a man's life when the time of his birth is known, but also, from the given facts of his life, of hunting out the time of his birth. This task, then, Tarutius performed, and when he had taken a survey of the man's experiences and achievements, and had brought together the time of his life, the manner of his death, and all such details, he very courageously and bravely declared that Romulus was conceived in his mother's womb in the first year of the second Olympiad,[1] in the month Choeac of the Egyptian calendar, on the twenty-third day, and in the third hour, when the sun was totally eclipsed; and that he was born in the month Thoth, on the twenty-first day, at sun-rise; and that Rome was founded by him on the ninth day of the month Pharmuthi, between the second and third hour: for it is thought that a city's fortune, as well as that of a man, has a decisive time, which may be known by the position of the stars at its very origin. These and similar speculations will perhaps attract readers by their novelty and extravagance, rather than offend them by their fabulous character.

XIII. When the city was built, in the first place, Romulus divided all the multitude that were of age to bear arms into military companies, each company consisting of three thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen. Such a company was called a "legion," because the warlike were *selected* out of all. In the second place, he treated the remainder as a people, and this multitude was called "populus"; a hundred of them, who were the most eminent, he

[1] 772 B.C.

μὲν πατρικίους, τὸ δὲ σύστημα σενᾶτον προσηγο-
2 ρευσεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν σενᾶτος ἀτρεκῶς γερουσίαν
σημαίνει· πατρικίους δὲ τοὺς βουλευτὰς κλη-
θῆναι λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν ὅτι παίδων γνησίων πα-
τέρες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας
ἑαυτῶν ἀποδεῖξαι πατέρας, ὅπερ οὐ πολλοῖς
ὑπῆρξε τῶν πρώτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν συρρεόντων·
οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πατρωνείας. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκάλουν
τὴν προστασίαν καὶ καλοῦσιν ἄχρι νῦν, οἰόμενοι
Πάτρωνά τινα τῶν σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ παραγενομένων,
κηδεμονικὸν τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων ὄντα καὶ βοηθη-
τικόν, ἀφ' αὑτοῦ τῷ πράγματι ταύτην τὴν προση-
3 γορίαν ἀπολιπεῖν. μάλιστα δ' ἄν τις τυγχάνοι
τοῦ εἰκότος, εἰ νομίζοι τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀξιοῦντα
τοὺς πρώτους καὶ δυνατωτάτους πατρικῇ κηδε-
μονίᾳ καὶ φροντίδι προσήκειν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν
ταπεινοτέρων, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκοντα
μὴ δεδιέναι μηδ' ἄχθεσθαι ταῖς τῶν κρειττόνων
τιμαῖς, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ νομίζοντας
καὶ προσαγορεύοντας πατέρας, οὕτως ὀνομάσαι.
4 καὶ γὰρ ἄχρι νῦν τοὺς ἐν συγκλήτῳ τελοῦντας
οἱ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἄνδρας ἡγεμόνας καλοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ
δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πατέρας συγγεγραμμένους, τῷ μέ- 25
γιστον μὲν ἀξίωμα καὶ τιμήν, ἥκιστα δὲ φθόνον
ἔχοντι χρώμενοι τῶν ὀνομάτων. ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν
οὖν πατέρας αὐτοὺς μόνον, ὕστερον δὲ πλειόνων
προσαναλαμβανομένων, πατέρας συγγεγραμμέ-
5 νους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν ὄνομα
σεμνότερον αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν τοῦ
βουλευτικοῦ διαφορᾶς· ἑτέροις δὲ τοὺς δυνατοὺς

appointed to be councillors, calling the individuals themselves "patricians," and their body a "senate." Now the word "senate" means literally a Council of Elders, and the councillors were called "patricians," as some say, because they were *fathers* of lawful children[1]; or rather, according to others, because they could tell who their own *fathers* were, which not many could do of those who first streamed into the city; according to others still, from "patronage," which was their word for the protection of inferiors, and is so to this day; and they suppose that a certain Patron, one of those who came to Italy with Evander, was a protector and defender of the poor and needy, and left his own name in the word which designates such activity. But the most reasonable opinion for any one to hold is that Romulus thought it the duty of the foremost and most influential citizens to watch over the more lowly with *fatherly* care and concern, while he taught the multitude not to fear their superiors nor be vexed at their honours, but to exercise goodwill towards them, considering them and addressing them as *fathers*, whence their name of Patricii. For down to the present time foreign peoples call the members of their senate "chief men," but the Romans themselves call them "conscript fathers," using that name which has the greatest dignity and honour, and awakens the least envy. At first, then, they called them simply "fathers," but later, when more had been added to their number, they addressed them as "conscript fathers." By this more imposing title Romulus distinguished the senate from the commonalty, and in other ways, too, he separated the nobles from the

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 8, 7.

ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν διήρει, πάτρωνας ὀνομάζων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ προστάτας, ἐκείνους δὲ κλίεντας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πελάτας· ἅμα δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θαυμαστὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεγάλων δικαίων ὑπάρξουσαν ἐνεποίησεν. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγητάς τε τῶν νομίμων καὶ προστάτας δικαζομένοις συμβούλους τε
6 πάντων καὶ κηδεμόνας ἑαυτοὺς παρεῖχον, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τούτους ἐθεράπευον οὐ μόνον τιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πενομένοις θυγατέρας συνεκδιδόντες καὶ χρέα συνεκτίνοντες. καταμαρτυρεῖν τε πελάτου προστάτην, ἢ προστάτου πελάτην, οὔτε νόμος οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἄρχων ἠνάγκαζεν. ὕστερον δέ, τῶν ἄλλων δικαίων μενόντων, τὸ λαμβάνειν χρήματα τοὺς δυνατοὺς παρὰ τῶν ταπεινοτέρων αἰσχρὸν ἐνομίσθη καὶ ἀγεννές. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

XIV. Τετάρτῳ δὲ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν, ὡς Φάβιος ἱστορεῖ, τὸ περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ἐτολμήθη τῶν γυναικῶν. καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ἔνιοι τὸν Ῥωμύλον αὐτὸν τῇ φύσει φιλοπόλεμον ὄντα, καὶ πεπεισμένον ἔκ τινων ἄρα λογίων ὅτι τὴν Ῥώμην πέπρωται πολέμοις τρεφομένην καὶ αὐξομένην γενέσθαι μεγίστην, βίας ὑπάρξαι πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους· οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλάς, ἀλλὰ τριάκοντα μόνας παρθένους λαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἅτε δὴ πολέμου
2 μᾶλλον ἢ γάμων δεόμενον. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εἰκός· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὁρῶν ἐποίκων εὐθὺς ἐμπιπλαμένην, ὧν ὀλίγοι γυναῖκας εἶχον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ

multitude, calling the one "patrons," that is to say, protectors, and the other "clients," that is to say, dependants. At the same time he inspired both classes with an astonishing goodwill towards each other, and one which became the basis of important rights and privileges. For the patrons advised their clients in matters of custom, and represented them in courts of justice, in short, were their counsellors and friends in all things; while the clients were devoted to their patrons, not only holding them in honour, but actually, in cases of poverty, helping them to dower their daughters and pay their debts. And there was neither any law nor any magistrate that could compel a patron to bear witness against a client, or a client againt a patron. But in later times, while all other rights and privileges remained in force, the taking of money by those of high degree from the more lowly was held to be disgraceful and ungenerous. So much, then, on these topics.

XIV. It was in the fourth month after the founding of the city, as Fabius writes, that the rape of the Sabine women was perpetrated.[1] And some say that Romulus himself, being naturally fond of war, and being persuaded by sundry oracles, too, that it was the destiny of Rome to be nourished and increased by wars till she became the greatest of cities, thereby merely began unprovoked hostilities against the Sabines; for he did not take many maidens, but thirty only, since what he wanted was war rather than marriages. But this is not likely. On the contrary, seeing his city filling up at once with aliens, few of whom had wives, while the greater part of them, being a mixed rabble of needy

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 9.

μιγάδες ἐξ ἀπόρων καὶ ἀφανῶν ὄντες ὑπερεωρῶντο καὶ προσεδοκῶντο μὴ συμμενεῖν βεβαίως, ἐλπίζων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους τρόπον τινὰ συγκράσεως καὶ κοινωνίας ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀδίκημα ποιήσειν ἡμερωσαμένοις τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.

3 Διεδόθη λόγος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ὡς θεοῦ τινος ἀνευρήκοι βωμὸν ὑπὸ γῆς κεκρυμμένον. ὠνόμαζον δὲ τὸν θεὸν Κῶνσον, εἴτε βουλαῖον ὄντα (κωνσίλιον γὰρ ἔτι νῦν τὸ συμβούλιον καλοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους κωνσούλας, οἷον προβούλους), εἴτε ἵππιον Ποσειδῶ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ βωμὸς ἐν τῷ μείζονι τῶν ἱπποδρόμων ἔστιν, ἀφανὴς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ἀγῶσιν
4 ἀνακαλυπτόμενος. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλως φασὶ τοῦ βουλεύματος ἀπορρήτου καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὄντος ὑπόγειον οὐκ ἀλόγως τῷ θεῷ βωμὸν γενέσθαι κεκρυμμένον. ὡς δ' ἀνεφάνη, θυσίαν τε λαμπρὰν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνα καὶ θέαν ἐκ καταγγελίας ἐπετέλει πανηγυρικήν. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι συνῆλθον, αὐτὸς δὲ προὐκάθητο μετὰ τῶν ἀρί-
5 στων ἀλουργίδι κεκοσμημένος. ἦν δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως σύμβολον ἐξαναστάντα τὴν ἀλουργίδα πτύξαι καὶ περιβαλέσθαι πάλιν. ἔχοντες οὖν ξίφη πολλοὶ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῦ σημείου γενομένου σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ὁρμήσαντες ἥρπαζον τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν Σαβίνων, αὐτοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εἴων καὶ

and obscure persons, were looked down upon and expected to have no strong cohesion; and hoping to make the outrage an occasion for some sort of blending and fellowship with the Sabines after their women had been kindly entreated, he set his hand to the task, and in the following manner.

First a report was spread abroad by him that he had discovered an altar of a certain god hidden underground. They called this god Consus, and he was either a god of *counsel* (for "consilium" is still their word for *counsel*, and they call their chief magistrates "consuls," that is to say, *counsellors*), or an equestrian Neptune. For the altar is in the Circus Maximus, and is invisible at all other times, but at the chariot-races it is uncovered. Some, however, simply say that since counsel is secret and unseen, it is not unreasonable that an altar to the god of counsel should be hidden underground.[1] Now when this altar was discovered, Romulus appointed by proclamation a splendid sacrifice upon it, with games, and a spectacle open to all people. And many were the people who came together, while he himself sat in front, among his chief men, clad in purple. The signal that the time had come for the onslaught was to be his rising and folding his cloak and then throwing it round him again. Armed with swords, then, many of his followers kept their eyes intently upon him, and when the signal was given, drew their swords, rushed in with shouts, and ravished away the daughters of the Sabines, but permitted and encouraged the men

[1] The altar was kept buried in the earth to signify the secret processes of nature in the production of crops and vegetation. For Consus was an ancient Italian god of agriculture.

παρίεσαν. ἁρπασθῆναι δέ φασιν οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα μόνας, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰς φρατρίας ὀνομασθῆναι, Οὐαλλέριος δὲ Ἀντίας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακοσίας, Ἰόβας δὲ τρεῖς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίας παρθένους· ὃ μέγιστον ἦν ἀπολόγημα τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ· γυναῖκα γὰρ οὐ λαβεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ μίαν, Ἐρσιλίαν, διαλαθοῦσαν αὐτούς, ἅτε δὴ μὴ μεθ' ὕβρεως μηδ' ἀδικίας ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν 26
ἁρπαγήν, ἀλλὰ συμμῖξαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸ τὰ γένη ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνάγκαις διανοη-
7 θέντας. τὴν δ' Ἐρσιλίαν οἱ μὲν Ὀστίλιον γῆμαι λέγουσιν, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανέστατον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Ῥωμύλον, καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ παῖδας αὐτῷ, μίαν μὲν θυγατέρα Πρίμαν, τῇ τάξει τῆς γενέσεως οὕτω προσαγορευθεῖσαν, ἕνα δ' υἱὸν μόνον, ὃν Ἀόλλιον μὲν ἐνεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἀθροίσεως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν ὠνόμασεν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον Ἀβίλλιον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἱστορῶν Ζηνόδοτος ὁ Τροιζήνιος πολλοὺς ἔχει τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας.

XV. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁρπάζουσι τὰς παρθένους τότε τυχεῖν λέγουσι τῶν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν τινας ἄγοντας κόρην τῷ τε κάλλει πολὺ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει διαφέρουσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἁπαντῶντες ἔνιοι τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπεχείρουν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, βοᾶν τοὺς ἄγοντας ὡς Ταλασίῳ κομίζοιεν αὐτήν, ἀνδρὶ νέῳ
2 μέν, εὐδοκίμῳ δὲ καὶ χρηστῷ· τοῦτ' οὖν ἀκούσαντας εὐφημεῖν καὶ κροτεῖν ἐπαινοῦντας, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ παρακολουθεῖν ἀναστρέψαντας εὐνοίᾳ καὶ

themselves to escape. Some say that only thirty maidens were seized, and that from these the Curiae [1] were named; but Valerius Antias puts the number at five hundred and twenty-seven, and Juba at six hundred and eighty-three, all maidens. And this was the strongest defence which Romulus could make, namely, that they took only one married woman, Hersilia, and her by mistake, since they did not commit the rape out of wantonness, nor even with a desire to do mischief, but with the fixed purpose of uniting and blending the two peoples in the strongest bonds. As for this Hersilia, some say that she was married to Hostilius, a most eminent Roman, and others, to Romulus himself, and that she also bore him children: one daughter, Prima, so called from the order of birth, and one son only, whom Romulus named Aollius, from the great *concourse* [2] of citizens under him, but later ages Avillius. However, Zenodotus of Troezen, who gives us this account, is contradicted by many.

XV. Among those who ravished away the maidens at that time, it chanced, they say, that certain men of meaner sort were dragging along a damsel who far surpassed the rest in beauty and stature; and when some men of superior rank met them and tried to rob them of their prize, they cried out that they were conducting the girl to Talasius, a young man, but one of excellent repute. The other party, then, on hearing this, shouted and clapped their hands in approval, and some of them actually turned back

[1] The thirty divisions into which the three ancient Roman tribes were divided for political and ceremonial purposes. Cf. Livy, i. 13, 6 f.

[2] A Greek etymology, connecting the name with ἀολλής, *in throngs.*

χάριτι τοῦ Ταλασίου, μετὰ βοῆς τοὔνομα φθεγγομένους. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸν Ταλάσιον ἄχρι νῦν, ὡς Ἕλληνες τὸν Τμέναιον, ἐπᾴδουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς γάμοις· καὶ γὰρ εὐτυχίᾳ φασὶ χρήσασθαι περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὸν Ταλάσιον.

Σέξτιος δὲ Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος, οὔτε μουσῶν οὔτε χαρίτων ἐπιδεὴς ἀνήρ, ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι τῆς ἁρπαγῆς σύνθημα τὴν φωνὴν ἔδωκε ταύτην ὁ 3 Ῥωμύλος. ἅπαντες οὖν τὸν Ταλάσιον ἐβόων οἱ τὰς παρθένους κομίζοντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς γάμοις παραμένει τὸ ἔθος. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι νομίζουσιν, ὧν καὶ Ἰόβας ἐστί, παράκλησιν εἶναι καὶ παρακέλευσιν εἰς φιλεργίαν καὶ ταλασίαν, οὕτω τότε τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐπικεχυμένων. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λέγεται κακῶς, ἀλλ' ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι τότε τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ταλασίας, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἑτέραν ἄν τις αἰτίαν 4 εἰκάσειε πιθανωτέραν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Σαβῖνοι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσαντες διηλλάγησαν, ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταλασίαν ὑπουργῶσι. παρέμεινεν οὖν καὶ τοῖς αὖθις γαμοῦσι τοὺς διδόντας ἢ παραπέμποντας ἢ ὅλως παρόντας, ἀναφωνεῖν τὸν Ταλάσιον μετὰ παιδιᾶς, μαρτυρομένους ὡς ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὑπούργημα τῆς 5 γυναικὸς ἢ ταλασίαν εἰσαγομένης. διαμένει δὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ τὴν νύμφην αὐτὴν ἀφ' αὑτῆς μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν τὸν οὐδὸν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἀλλ' αἰρομένην εἰσφέρεσθαι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε κομισθῆ-

and accompanied them, out of good will and favour to Talasius, shouting his name as they went along. Hence, indeed, down to the present time, Talasius is the nuptial cry of the Romans, as Hymenaeus is of the Greeks; for they say that Talasius was fortunate in his wife.

But Sextius Sulla, the Carthaginian, a man who lacks neither learning nor charm, told me that Talasius was the word which Romulus gave as a watchword for the rape. All those, therefore, who took the maidens away, shouted "Talasius!" and on this account the custom now prevails at marriages. But most writers are of the opinion—and Juba is one of them—that the cry is an exhortation and incitement to industry and "talasia," as the Greeks call *spinning*, Italian words having not yet at that time entirely submerged the Greek. Now if this is right, and the Romans did at that time use the word "talasia" for *spinning*, as we do, then a more credible reason for the custom might be conjectured as follows. When the Sabines, after their war against the Romans, were reconciled with them, it was agreed that their women should perform no other tasks for their husbands than those which were connected with spinning. It was customary, therefore, at subsequent marriages, for those who gave the bride away, or escorted her to her new home, or simply looked on, to cry "Talasius!" merrily, in testimony that the woman was led home for no other task than that of spinning. And it continues to be a custom down to the present time that the bride shall not of herself cross the threshold into her new home, but be lifted up and carried in, because the Sabine women were carried in

ναι βιασθείσας, μὴ εἰσελθεῖν.[1] *ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι καὶ τὸ τὴν κόμην τῆς γαμουμένης αἰχμῇ διακρίνεσθαι δορατίου σύμβολον εἶναι τοῦ μετὰ μάχης καὶ πολεμικῶς τὸν πρῶτον γάμον γενέσθαι· περὶ ὧν ἐπιπλέον ἐν τοῖς Αἰτίοις εἰρήκαμεν.*

Ἐτολμήθη μὲν οὖν ἡ ἁρπαγὴ περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν τοῦ τότε μὲν Σεξτιλίου μηνός, Αὐγούστου δὲ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν τῶν Κωνσαλίων ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν.

XVI. *Οἱ δὲ Σαβῖνοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν καὶ πολεμικοί, κώμας δὲ ᾤκουν ἀτειχίστους, ὡς προσῆκον αὐτοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι*
2 *Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκοις οὖσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς ἐνδεδεμένους μεγάλοις ὁμηρεύμασι, καὶ δεδιότες περὶ τῶν θυγατέρων, πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτρια προκαλούμενοι, τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀποδόντα τὰς κόρας αὐτοῖς καὶ λύσαντα τὸ τῆς βίας ἔργον, εἶτα πειθοῖ καὶ νόμῳ πράττειν τοῖς γένεσι φιλίαν καὶ οἰκειότητα. τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου τὰς μὲν κόρας μὴ προιεμένου, παρακαλοῦντος δὲ τὴν κοινωνίαν δέχεσθαι τοὺς*
3 *Σαβίνους, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βουλευόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι διέτριβον, Ἄκρων δὲ βασιλεὺς Κενινητῶν, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ δεινὸς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τά τε πρῶτα τολμήματα τοῦ Ῥωμύλου δι' ὑποψίας εἶχε, καὶ τῷ πραχθέντι περὶ τὰς* 27
γυναῖκας ἤδη φοβερὸν ἡγούμενος πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, εἰ μὴ κολασθείη, προεξανέστη τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐχώρει δυνάμεως ἐπ'

[1] *μὴ εἰσελθεῖν* bracketed by Bekker.

by force, and did not go in of their own accord. And some say also that the custom of parting the bride's hair with the head of a spear is a reminder that the first marriage was attended with war and fighting; on which topic I have spoken more fully in my "Roman Questions." [1]

Leaving such matters aside, the rape was committed on the eighteenth day of the month once called Sextilis, but now, August, on which day the festival of the Consualia [2] is celebrated.

XVI. Now the Sabines were a numerous and warlike people, and dwelt in unwalled villages, thinking that it behoved them, since they were Lacedaemonian colonists, to be bold and fearless. Nevertheless, seeing themselves bound by precious hostages, and fearing for their daughters, they sent ambassadors with reasonable and moderate demands, namely, that Romulus should give back to them their maidens, disavow his deed of violence, and then, by persuasion and legal enactment, establish a friendly relationship between the two peoples. But Romulus would not surrender the maidens, and demanded that the Sabines should allow community of marriage with the Romans, whereupon they all held long deliberations and made extensive preparations for war. But there was one exception. Acron, king of the Caeninenses, a man of courageous spirit and skilled in war, had been suspicious of the daring deeds of Romulus from the beginning, and now that this violence had been done the women, thinking him a menace to all peoples, and intolerable unless chastised, at once rose up in arms, and with a great

[1] *Morals*, p. 285 c (Question 87).

[2] A harvest festival, named from Consus. See chapter xiv. 3.

4 αὐτόν· καὶ ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον. γενόμενοι δ' ἐν ὄψει καὶ κατιδόντες ἀλλήλους προὐκαλοῦντο μάχεσθαι, τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀτρεμούντων. εὐξάμενος οὖν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, εἰ κρατήσειε καὶ καταβάλοι, τῷ Διὶ φέρων ἀναθήσειν αὐτὸς τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ ἀνδρός, αὐτόν τε καταβάλλει κρατήσας καὶ τρέπεται τὸ στράτευμα μάχης γενομένης, αἱρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν· οὐ μὴν ἠδίκησε τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰς οἰκίας ἐκέλευσε καθελόντας ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς Ῥώμην, ὡς πολίτας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἐσομένους.

5 Τούτου μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι μᾶλλον ηὔξησε τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀεὶ προσποιοῦσαν ἑαυτῇ καὶ συννέμουσαν ὧν κρατήσειεν· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα τὴν εὐχὴν τῷ τε Διὶ κεχαρισμένην καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἰδεῖν ἐπιτερπῆ παράσχοι σκεψάμενος, ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου δρῦν ἔτεμεν ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ διεμόρφωσεν ὥσπερ τρόπαιον, καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῦ Ἄκρωνος ἕκαστον ἐν τάξει περιήρμοσε καὶ κατήρτησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα περιεζώσατο, δάφνῃ δὲ ἐστέψατο τὴν κεφαλὴν κομῶ-
6 σαν. ὑπολαβὼν δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ τρόπαιον ὤμῳ προσερειδόμενον ὀρθόν, ἐβάδιζεν ἐξάρχων ἐπινικίου παιᾶνος ἐν ὅπλοις ἑπομένῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ, δεχομένων τῶν πολιτῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ θαύματος. ἡ μὲν οὖν πομπὴ τῶν αὖθις θριάμβων ἀρχὴν καὶ ζῆλον παρέσχε· τὸ δὲ τρόπαιον ἀνά-

force advanced against him.[1] Romulus also marched out to meet him. But when they were face to face and had surveyed each other, they challenged mutually to single combat before battle, while their armies remained quiet under arms. Romulus, then, after making a vow that if he should conquer and overthrow his adversary, he would carry home the man's armour and dedicate it in person to Jupiter, not only conquered and overthrew him, but also routed his army in the battle which followed, and took his city as well. To the captured citizens, however, he did no harm beyond ordering them to tear down their dwellings and accompany him to Rome, where, he promised them, they should be citizens on equal terms with the rest.

Now this, more than anything else, was what gave increase to Rome: she always united and incorporated with herself those whom she conquered. But Romulus, after considering how he might perform his vow in a manner most acceptable to Jupiter and accompany the performance with a spectacle most pleasing to the citizens, cut down a monstrous oak that grew in the camp, hewed it into the shape of a trophy, and fitted and fastened to it the armour of Acron, each piece in its due order. Then he himself, girding his raiment about him and wreathing his flowing locks with laurel, set the trophy on his right shoulder, where it was held erect, and began a triumphal march, leading off in a paean of victory which his army sang as it followed under arms, and being received by the citizens with joyful amazement. This procession was the origin and model of all subsequent triumphs, and the

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 10.

θημα Φερετρίου Διὸς ἐπωνομάσθη. τὸ γὰρ πλῆξαι φερῖρε Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν· εὔξατο δὲ πλῆξαι
7 τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ καταβαλεῖν· ὀπίμια δὲ τὰ σκῦλα, φησὶ Βάρρων, καθότι καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν ὄπεμ λέγουσι. πιθανώτερον δ' ἄν τις εἴποι διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν· ὄπους γὰρ ὀνομάζεται τὸ ἔργον. αὐτουργῷ δὲ ἀριστείας στρατηγῷ στρατηγὸν ἀνελόντι δέδοται καθιέρωσις ὀπιμίων.

Καὶ τρισὶ μόνοις τούτου τυχεῖν ὑπῆρξε Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμόσι, πρώτῳ Ῥωμύλῳ, κτείναντι τὸν Κενινήτην Ἄκρωνα, δευτέρῳ Κορνηλίῳ Κόσσῳ, Τυρρηνὸν ἀνελόντι Τολούμνιον, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ Κλαυδίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ, Βριτομάρτου κρατήσαντι
8 Γαλατῶν βασιλέως. Κόσσος μὲν οὖν καὶ Μάρκελλος ἤδη τεθρίπποις εἰσήλαυνον αὐτοὶ τὰ τρόπαια φέροντε· Ῥωμύλον δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς φησιν ἅρματι χρήσασθαι Διονύσιος. Ταρκύνιον γὰρ ἱστοροῦσι τὸν Δημαράτου τῶν βασιλέων πρῶτον εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸν ὄγκον ἐξᾶραι τοὺς θριάμβους· ἕτεροι δὲ πρῶτον ἐφ' ἅρματος θριαμβεῦσαι Ποπλικόλαν. τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου τὰς εἰκόνας ὁρᾶν ἔστιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰς τροπαιοφόρους πεζὰς ἁπάσας.

XVII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κενινητῶν ἅλωσιν ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων Σαβίνων ἐν παρασκευαῖς ὄντων, συνέστησαν οἱ Φιδήνην καὶ Κρουστουμέριον καὶ Ἀντέμναν οἰκοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· καὶ μάχης

trophy was styled a dedication to Jupiter Feretrius, so named from the Roman word "ferire," *to smite;* for Romulus vowed to *smite* his foe and overthrow him. And such spoils were called "opima," because as Varro says, "opes" is the Roman word for *richness*; but it would be more plausible to say that they were so called from the *deed of valour* involved, since "opus" is the Roman word for *deed* or *exploit.* And only to a general who with his own hand has performed the exploit of slaying an opposing general, has the privilege of dedicating the "spolia opima" been granted.

Furthermore, only three Roman leaders have attained this honour: Romulus first, for slaying Acron the Caeninensian; next, Cornelius Cossus, for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan;[1] and lastly, Claudius Marcellus, for overpowering Britomartus, king of the Gauls.[2] Cossus indeed, and Marcellus, already used a four-horse chariot for their entrance into the city, carrying the trophies themselves, but Dionysius[3] is incorrect in saying that Romulus used a chariot. For it is matter of history that Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, was first of the kings to lift triumphs up to such pomp and ceremony, although others say that Publicola was first to celebrate a triumph riding on a chariot.[4] And the statues of Romulus bearing the trophies are, as may be seen in Rome, all on foot.

XVII. After the capture of the Caeninensians, while the rest of the Sabines were still busy with their preparations, the people of Fidenae, Crustumerium, and Antemnae banded together against the

[1] In 436 B.C., according to Livy, iv. 19, 1–5.
[2] In 222 B.C. See Plutarch's *Marcellus*, vii.
[3] *Antiq. Rom.* ii. 34. [4] Cf. *Publicola*, ix. 5.

γενομένης ἡττηθέντες ὁμοίως, τάς τε πόλεις Ῥωμύλῳ παρῆκαν ἐλεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν δάσασθαι καὶ μετοικίσαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κατένειμε χώραν τοῖς πολίταις, ὅσην δ' εἶχον οἱ τῶν ἡρπασμένων παρθένων πατέρες, αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἐκείνους εἴασεν.
2 Ἐπὶ τούτοις βαρέως φέροντες οἱ λοιποὶ Σαβῖνοι Τάτιον ἀποδείξαντες στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐστράτευσαν· ἦν δὲ δυσπρόσοδος ἡ πόλις, ἔχουσα πρόβλημα τὸ νῦν Καπιτώλιον, ἐν ᾧ φρουρὰ καθειστήκει καὶ Ταρπήϊος ἡγεμὼν αὐτῆς, οὐχὶ Ταρπηΐα παρθένος, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, εὐήθη τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀποδεικνύοντες· ἀλλὰ θυγάτηρ ἡ Ταρπηΐα τοῦ ἄρχοντος οὖσα προὔδωκε τοῖς Σαβίνοις, ἐπιθυμήσασα τῶν χρυσῶν βραχιονιστήρων οὓς εἶδε περικειμένους, καὶ ᾔτησε μισθὸν τῆς προ- 2
3 δοσίας ἃ φοροῖεν ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς χερσί. συνθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Τατίου, νύκτωρ ἀνοίξασα πύλην μίαν ἐδέξατο τοὺς Σαβίνους. οὐ μόνος οὖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἀντίγονος ἔφη προδιδόντας μὲν φιλεῖν, προδεδωκότας δὲ μισεῖν, οὐδὲ Καῖσαρ, εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θρᾳκὸς Ῥοιμητάλκου, φιλεῖν μὲν προδοσίαν, προδότην δὲ μισεῖν· ἀλλὰ κοινόν τι τοῦτο πάθος ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἰοῦ καὶ χολῆς ἐνίων θηρίων δέονται· τὴν γὰρ χρείαν ὅτε λαμβάνουσιν ἀγαπῶντες, ἐχθαίρουσι
4 τὴν κακίαν ὅταν τύχωσι. τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ταρπηΐαν τότε παθὼν ὁ Τάτιος ἐκέλευσε μεμνη-

Romans,[1] and in a battle which ensued, they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus their cities to be seized, their territory to be divided, and themselves to be transported to Rome. Romulus distributed among the citizens all the territory thus acquired, excepting that which belonged to the parents of the ravished maidens; this he suffered its owners to keep for themselves.

At this the rest of the Sabines were enraged, and after appointing Tatius their general, marched upon Rome. The city was difficult of access, having as its fortress the present Capitol, on which a guard had been stationed, with Tarpeius as its captain,—not Tarpeia, a maiden, as some say, thereby making Romulus a simpleton. But Tarpeia, a daughter of the commander, betrayed the citadel to the Sabines, having set her heart on the golden armlets which she saw them wearing, and she asked as payment for her treachery that which they wore on their left arms. Tatius agreed to this, whereupon she opened one of the gates by night and let the Sabines in. Antigonus was not alone, then, in saying that he loved men who offered to betray, but hated those who had betrayed; nor yet Caesar, in saying of the Thracian Rhoemetalces, that he loved treachery but hated a traitor; but this is a very general feeling towards the base on the part of those who need their services, just as they need certain wild creatures for their venom and gall; for while they feel the need of them, they put up with them, but abhor their vileness when they have obtained from them what they want. This, too, was the feeling which Tatius then had towards Tarpeia, when he ordered

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 11.

μένους τῶν ὁμολογιῶν τοὺς Σαβίνους μηδενὸς αὐτῇ φθονεῖν ὧν ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς ἔχουσι. καὶ πρῶτος ἅμα τὸν βραχιονιστῆρα τῆς χειρὸς περιελὼν καὶ τὸν θυρεὸν ἐπέρριψε. πάντων δὲ αὐτὸ ποιούντων βαλλομένη τε τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ καταχωσθεῖσα τοῖς θυρεοῖς ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ
5 βάρους ἀπέθανεν. ἑάλω δὲ καὶ Ταρπήϊος προδοσίας ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου διωχθείς, ὡς Ἰόβας φησὶ Γάλβαν Σουλπίκιον ἱστορεῖν. τῶν δ' ἄλλα περὶ Ταρπηΐας λεγόντων ἀπίθανοι μέν εἰσιν οἱ Τατίου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τῶν Σαβίνων οὖσαν αὐτήν, Ῥωμύλῳ δὲ βίᾳ συνοικοῦσαν, ἱστοροῦντες ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καὶ παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός· ὧν καὶ Ἀντίγονός ἐστι. Σιμύλος δ' ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ παντάπασι ληρεῖ μὴ Σαβίνοις οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ Κελτοῖς τὴν Ταρπηΐαν προδοῦναι τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐρασθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως. λέγει δὲ ταῦτα·

Ἡ δ' ἀγχοῦ Τάρπεια παραὶ Καπιτώλιον αἶπος
ναίουσα Ῥώμης ἔπλετο τειχολέτις,
Κελτῶν ἣ στέρξασα γαμήλια λέκτρα γενέσθαι
σκηπτούχῳ, πατέρων οὐκ ἐφύλαξε δόμους.

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς·

Τὴν δ' οὔτ' ἂρ Βόϊοί τε καὶ ἔθνεα μυρία Κελτῶν
χηράμενοι ῥείθρων ἐντὸς ἔθεντο Πάδου·
ὅπλα δ' ἐπιπροβαλόντες ἀρειμανέων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
κούρῃ ἐπὶ στυγερῇ κόσμον ἔθεντο φόνου.

his Sabines, mindful of their agreement, not to begrudge the girl anything they wore on their left arms. And he was first to take from his arm not only his armlet, but at the same time his shield, and cast them upon her. All his men followed his example, and the girl was smitten by the gold and buried under the shields, and died from the number and weight of them. And Tarpeius also was convicted of treason when prosecuted by Romulus, as, according to Juba, Sulpicius Galba relates. Of those who write differently about Tarpeia, they are worthy of no belief at all who say that she was a daughter of Tatius, the leader of the Sabines, and was living with Romulus under compulsion, and acted and suffered as she did, at her father's behest; of these, Antigonus is one. And Simylus the poet is altogether absurd in supposing that Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol, not to the Sabines, but to the Gauls, because she had fallen in love with their king. These are his words:—

"And Tarpeia, who dwelt hard by the Capitolian steep,
Became the destroyer of the walls of Rome;
She longed to be the wedded wife of the Gallic chieftain,
And betrayed the homes of her fathers."

And a little after, speaking of her death:—

"Her the Boii and the myriad tribes of Gauls
Did not, exulting, cast amid the currents of the Po;
But hurled the shields from their belligerent arms
Upon the hateful maid, and made their ornament her doom."

XVIII. Τῆς μέντοι Ταρπηΐας ἐκεῖ ταφείσης ὁ λόφος ὠνομάζετο Ταρπήϊος, ἄχρι οὗ Ταρκυνίου βασιλέως Διῒ τὸν τόπον καθιεροῦντος ἅμα τε τὰ λείψανα μετηνέχθη καὶ τοὔνομα τῆς Ταρπηΐας ἐξέλιπε. πλὴν πέτραν ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Ταρπηΐαν καλοῦσιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρίπτουν τοὺς κακούργους.

2 Ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς ἄκρας ὑπὸ τῶν Σαβίνων, ὅ τε Ῥωμύλος ὑπ' ὀργῆς εἰς μάχην αὐτοὺς προὐκαλεῖτο, καὶ ὁ Τάτιος ἐθάρρει, καρτεράν, εἰ βιασθεῖεν, ἀναχώρησιν ὁρῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσαν. ὁ γὰρ μεταξὺ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ συμπίπτειν ἔμελλον, ὑπὸ πολλῶν λόφων περιεχόμενος ἀγῶνα μὲν ὀξὺν ἐδόκει καὶ χαλεπὸν ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας ἀμφοτέροις παρέξειν, φυγὰς δὲ καὶ διώξεις ἐν στενῷ βρα-

3 χείας. ἔτυχε δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμνάσαντος οὐ πολλαῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις, ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι τέλμα βαθὺ καὶ τυφλὸν ἐν τόποις ἐπιπέδοις κατὰ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν ἀγοράν· ὅθεν οὐκ ἦν ὄψει πρόδηλον, οὐδ' εὐφύλακτον, ἄλλως δὲ χαλεπὸν καὶ ὔπουλον. ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἀπειρίᾳ φερομένοις εὐτύ-

4 χημα γίγνεται. Κούρτιος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής, δόξῃ καὶ φρονήματι γαῦρος, ἵππον ἔχων πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχώρει· δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ βαράθρου τὸν ἵππον ἄχρι μέν τινος ἐπειρᾶτο πληγῇ καὶ παρακελεύσει χρώμενος ἐξελαύνειν, ὡς δ' ἦν ἀμήχανον, ἐάσας τὸν ἵππον ἑαυτὸν ἔσωζεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τόπος δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔτι νῦν Κούρτιος λάκκος ὀνομάζεται· φυλαξάμενοι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ Σαβῖνοι μάχην καρτερὰν ἐμαχέσαντο κρίσιν οὐ λαβοῦσαν, καίτοι πολλῶν πεσόντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ

XVIII. However, Tarpeia was buried there, and the hill was called from her Tarpeius, until King Tarquin dedicated the place to Jupiter, when her bones were removed and the name of Tarpeia died out, except that a cliff on the Capitol is still called the Tarpeian Rock, from which they hurl malefactors.

The citadel thus occupied by the Sabines,[1] Romulus angrily challenged them to battle, and Tatius was bold enough to accept, since he saw that the Sabines, if worsted, had a strong place of retreat. For the intervening space, in which they were to join battle, being surrounded by many hills, seemed to impose upon both parties a sharp and grievous contest, owing to the difficulties of the field, where flight and pursuit must be narrowly confined and short. It happened, too, since the river had overflowed not many days before, that a deep and blind slime had been left in the valley where the forum is now. Wherefore it was not apparent to the eye, nor yet easy to avoid, and besides it was soft beneath the surface and dangerous. On to this the Sabines were ignorantly rushing, when a piece of good fortune befell them. Curtius, a conspicuous man among them, eager for glory and high design, was advancing on horseback far in front of the rest, when his horse sank in the gulf of mud. For some time he tried to drive him out, with blows and cries of encouragement, but since it was impossible, he abandoned his horse and saved himself. Accordingly, the place to this day is called from him "lacus Curtius." But the Sabines, having avoided this peril, fought a sturdy fight, and one which was indecisive, although

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 12.

5 Ὀστίλιος. τοῦτον Ἐρσιλίας ἄνδρα καὶ πώποτε 29
Ὀστιλίου τοῦ μετὰ Νομᾶν βασιλεύσαντος γενέσθαι λέγουσιν. αὖθις δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἐν βραχεῖ συνισταμένων, ὡς εἰκός, ἑνὸς μάλιστα τοῦ τελευταίου μνημονεύουσιν, ἐν ᾧ Ῥωμύλου τὴν κεφαλὴν πληγέντος λίθῳ καὶ πεσεῖν ὀλίγου δεήσαντος τοῦ τ' ἀντέχειν ὑφεμένου τοῖς Σαβίνοις, ἐνέδωκαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ φυγῇ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον
6 ἐχώρουν ἐξωθούμενοι τῶν ἐπιπέδων. ἤδη δὲ ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀναφέρων ἐβούλετο μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐναντίως, καὶ μέγα βοῶν ἱστασθαι καὶ μάχεσθαι παρεκάλει. πολλῆς δὲ τῆς φυγῆς αὐτῷ περιχεομένης καὶ μηδενὸς ἀναστρέφειν τολμῶντος, ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας εὔξατο τῷ Διΐ στῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα πεσόντα
7 μὴ περιϊδεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρθῶσαι. γενομένης δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς, αἰδώς τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἔσχε πολλοὺς καὶ θάρσος ἐκ μεταβολῆς παρέστη τοῖς φεύγουσιν. ἔστησαν οὖν πρῶτον οὗ νῦν ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στάτορος ἵδρυται νεώς, ὃν ἐπιστάσιον ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύσειεν· εἶτα συνασπίσαντες πάλιν ἔωσαν ὀπίσω τοὺς Σαβίνους ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν Ῥήγιαν προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερόν.

XIX. Ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς μάχεσθαι παρασκευαζομένους ἐπέσχε δεινὸν ἰδεῖν θέαμα καὶ λόγου κρείττων ὄψις. αἱ γὰρ ἡρπασμέναι θυγατέρες τῶν Σαβίνων ὤφθησαν ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλαι μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ὀλολυγμοῦ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων φερόμεναι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκ θεοῦ

many fell, among whom was Hostilius. This man, they say, was husband of Hersilia[1] and grandfather to the Hostilius who was king after Numa. Afterwards many conflicts raged within a short time, as might be expected, but one is most memorable, namely the last, in which Romulus was hit on the head with a stone and almost fell to the ground, abandoning his resistance to the Sabines. The Romans thereupon gave way and began to fly to the Palatine, now that they were repulsed from the plain. But presently Romulus, recovering from his blow, wished to stem the tide of fugitives and renew the battle, and called upon them with a loud voice to stand and fight. But as the waves of flight encompassed him and no man dared to face about, he stretched his hands towards heaven and prayed Jupiter to stay his army and not suffer the Roman cause to fall, but to restore it. No sooner was his prayer ended than many stopped out of reverence for their king, and courage returned to the fugitives. They made their first stand, then, where now is the temple of Jupiter Stator, which epithet might be interpreted as *Stayer*. Then they closed their ranks again and drove the Sabines back to where the so-called Regia[2] now stands, and the temple of Vesta.

XIX. Here, as they were preparing to renew the battle, they were checked by a sight that was wonderful to behold and a spectacle that passes description.[3] The ravished daughters of the Sabines were seen rushing from every direction, with shouts and lamentations, through the armed men and the

[1] Cf. chapter xiv. 6 f.

[2] In historical times, the house of the Pontifex Maximus. See *Numa*, xiv. 1.

[3] Cf. Livy, i. 13.

κάτοχοι, πρός τε τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς πατέρας, αἱ μὲν παιδία κομίζουσαι νήπια πρὸς ταῖς ἀγκάλαις, αἱ δὲ τὴν κόμην προϊσχόμεναι λελυμένην, πᾶσαι δ' ἀνακαλούμεναι τοῖς φιλτάτοις ὀνόμασι ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς Σαβίνους, ποτὲ δὲ
2 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐπεκλάσθησαν οὖν ἀμφότεροι, καὶ διέσχον αὐταῖς ἐν μέσῳ καταστῆναι τῆς παρατάξεως· καὶ κλαυθμὸς ἅμα διὰ πάντων ἐχώρει, καὶ πολὺς οἶκτος ἦν πρός τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἔτι μᾶλλον, εἰς ἱκεσίαν καὶ δέησιν ἐκ δικαιολογίας καὶ παρρησίας τελευτῶντας. "Τί
3 γὰρ (ἔφασαν) ὑμᾶς δεινὸν ἢ λυπηρὸν ἐργασάμεναι, τὰ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθαμεν, τὰ δὲ πάσχομεν τῶν σχετλίων κακῶν; ἡρπάσθημεν ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐχόντων βίᾳ καὶ παρανόμως, ἁρπασθεῖσαι δ' ἠμελήθημεν ὑπ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ πατέρων καὶ οἰκείων χρόνον τοσοῦτον ὅσος ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰ ἔχθιστα κεράσας ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνάγκαις, πεποίηκε νῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν βιασαμένων καὶ παρανομησάντων
4 δεδιέναι μαχομένων καὶ κλαίειν θνησκόντων. οὐ γὰρ ἦλθετε τιμωρήσοντες ἡμῖν παρθένοις οὔσαις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἀνδρῶν ἀποσπᾶτε γαμετὰς καὶ τέκνων μητέρας, οἰκτροτέραν βοήθειαν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀμελείας καὶ προδοσίας βοηθοῦντες ἡμῖν ταῖς ἀθλίαις. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἠγαπήθημεν ὑπὸ τούτων, τοιαῦτα δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐλεούμεθα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἐμάχεσθε, παύσασθαι δι' ἡμᾶς πενθεροὺς γεγονότας καὶ

dead bodies, as if in a frenzy of possession, up to their husbands and their fathers, some carrying young children in their arms, some veiled in their dishevelled hair, and all calling with the most endearing names now upon the Sabines and now upon the Romans. So then both armies were moved to compassion, and drew apart to give the women place between the lines of battle; sorrow ran through all the ranks, and abundant pity was stirred by the sight of the women, and still more by their words, which began with argument and reproach, and ended with supplication and entreaty. "Wherein, pray (they said), have we done you wrong or harm, that we must suffer in the past, and must still suffer now, such cruel evils? We were violently and lawlessly ravished away by those to whom we now belong, but though thus ravished, we were neglected by our brethren and fathers and kinsmen until time had united us by the strongest ties with those whom we had most hated, and made us now fear for those who had treated us with violence and lawlessness, when they go to battle, and mourn for them when they are slain. For ye did not come to avenge us upon our ravishers while we were still maidens, but now ye would tear wives from their husbands and mothers from their children, and the succour wherewith ye would now succour us, wretched women that we are, is more pitiful than your former neglect and abandonment of us. Such is the love which we have here enjoyed, such the compassion shown to us by you. Even if ye were fighting on other grounds, it were meet that ye should cease for our sakes, now that ye are become fathers-in-law and grandsires and have

παππους καὶ οἰκείους ὄντας ἐχρῆν. εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ
5 ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμός ἐστι, κομίσασθε ἡμᾶς μετὰ
γαμβρῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ ἀπόδοτε ἡμῖν πατέρας
καὶ οἰκείους, μηδὲ ἀφέλησθε παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας.
ἱκετεύομεν ὑμᾶς μὴ πάλιν αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι."

Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ τῆς Ἑρσιλίας προαγορευ-
ούσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεομένων, ἐσπείσθησαν
6 ἀνοχαὶ καὶ συνῆλθον εἰς λόγους οἱ ἡγεμόνες. αἱ
δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς πατράσι καὶ τοῖς
ἀδελφοῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας προσῆγον καὶ τὰ τέκνα,[1]
προσέφερόν τε τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν τοῖς δεομένοις,
καὶ τοὺς τετρωμένους ἐθεράπευον οἴκαδε κομί-
ζουσαι· καὶ παρεῖχον ὁρᾶν ἀρχούσας μὲν αὑτὰς
τοῦ οἴκου, προσέχοντας δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐταῖς
7 καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας τιμὴν ἅπασαν νέμοντας. ἐκ
τούτου συντίθενται τῶν μὲν γυναικῶν τὰς βουλο-
μένας συνοικεῖν τοῖς ἔχουσιν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται,
παντὸς ἔργου καὶ πάσης λατρείας πλὴν ταλασίας
ἀφειμένας· οἰκεῖν δὲ κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίους
καὶ Σαβίνους, καὶ καλεῖσθαι μὲν Ῥώμην ἐπὶ
Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν, Κυρίτας δὲ Ῥωμαίους
ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Τατίου πατρίδι, βασιλεύειν δὲ
κοινῇ καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀμφοτέρους. ὅπου δὲ
ταῦτα συνέθεντο μέχρι νῦν Κομίτιον καλεῖται·
κομῖρε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ συνελθεῖν καλοῦσι.

XX. Διπλασιασθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, ἑκατὸν
μὲν ἐκ Σαβίνων πατρίκιοι προσκατελέχθησαν, αἱ

[1] τὰ τέκνα Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: τέκνα.

family ties among your enemies. If, however, the war is on our behalf, carry us away with your sons-in-law and their children, and so restore to us our fathers and kindred, but do not rob us of our children and husbands. Let us not, we beseech you, become prisoners of war again."

Many such appeals were made by Hersilia, and the other women added their entreaties, until a truce was made and the leaders held a conference. Meanwhile the women brought their husbands and their children and presented them to their fathers and brothers; they also carried food and drink to those that wanted, and bore the wounded to their homes for tender nursing; here they also made it evident that they were mistresses of their own households, and that their husbands were attentive to them and showed them all honour with good will. Thereupon agreements were made that such women as wished to do so might continue to live with their husbands, exempt, as aforesaid,[1] from all labour and all drudgery except spinning; also that the city should be inhabited by Romans and Sabines in common; and that the city should be called Rome, from Romulus, but all its citizens Quirites, from the native city of Tatius[2]; and that Romulus and Tatius should be joint kings and leaders of the army. The place where these agreements were made is to this day called Comitium, from the Roman word "conire," or "coire," *to come together.*

XX. The city thus doubled in its numbers, a hundred of the Sabines were added by election to the Patricii,[3] and the legions were enlarged

[1] Cf. chapter xv. 4. [2] Cures, a Sabine town.
[3] Cf. chapter xiii. 1.

δὲ λεγεῶνες ἐγένοντο πεζῶν μὲν ἑξακισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ ἑξακοσίων. φυλὰς δὲ τρεῖς καταστήσαντες ὠνόμασαν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου Ῥαμνήνσης, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Τατίου Τατιήνσης· τρίτους δὲ Λουκερήνσης διὰ τὸ ἄλσος, εἰς ὃ πολλοὶ καταφυγόντες, ἀσυλίας δεδομένης, τοῦ πολιτεύματος
2 μετέσχον· τὰ δ' ἄλση λούκους ὀνομάζουσιν. ὅτι δ' ἦσαν αἱ φυλαὶ τοσαῦται, τοὔνομα μαρτυρεῖ· τρίβους γὰρ ἔτι νῦν τὰς φυλὰς καλοῦσι, καὶ τριβούνους τοὺς φυλάρχους. ἑκάστη δὲ φυλὴ δέκα φρατρίας εἶχεν, ἃς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ἐπωνύμους εἶναι ἐκείνων τῶν γυναικῶν. τοῦτο δὲ δοκεῖ ψεῦδος εἶναι· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ χωρίων
3 τὰς προσηγορίας. ἄλλα μέντοι πολλὰ ταῖς γυναιξὶν εἰς τιμὴν ἀπέδωκαν, ὧν καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν· ἐξίστασθαι μὲν ὁδοῦ βαδιζούσαις, αἰσχρὸν δὲ μηδένα μηδὲν εἰπεῖν παρούσης γυναικός, μηδ' ὀφθῆναι γυμνόν, ἢ δίκην φεύγειν παρὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν φονικῶν καθεστῶσι, φορεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τὴν καλουμένην βοῦλλαν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, ὅμοιον πομφόλυγι, περιδέρραιόν τι καὶ περιπόρφυρον.

4 Ἐβουλεύοντο δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐν κοινῷ μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἑκάτερος πρότερον ἰδίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἑκατόν, εἶτα οὕτως εἰς ταὐτὸν ἅπαντας συνῆγον. ᾤκει δὲ Τάτιος μὲν ὅπου νῦν ὁ τῆς Μονήτης ναός ἐστι, Ῥωμύλος δὲ παρὰ τοὺς λεγομένους βαθμοὺς καλῆς ἀκτῆς.[1] οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ

[1] καλῆς ἀκτῆς a corruption of Κάκου? Cf. Diodorus, iv. 21, 2.

to six thousand footmen and six hundred horsemen.[1] The people, too, were arranged in three bodies, the first called Ramnenses, from Romulus; the second Tatienses, from Tatius; and the third Lucerenses, from the *grove* into which many betook themselves for refuge, when a general asylum was offered,[2] and then became citizens. Now the Roman word for *grove* is "lucus." That these bodies were three in number, their very name testifies, for to this day they call them *tribes*, and their chief officers, *tribunes*. And each tribe had ten phratries, or brotherhoods, which, as some say, were named after the thirty Sabine women;[3] but this seems to be false, since many of them bear the names of places. However, they did make many other concessions to the women, to do them honour, some of which are as follow: to give them the right of way when walking; not to utter any indecent word in the presence of a woman; that no man should be seen naked by them, or else that he be liable to prosecution before the judges of homicide; and that their children should wear a sort of necklace, the "bulla," so called from its shape (which was that of a *bubble*), and a robe bordered with purple.

The two kings did not at once hold council in common with one another, but each at first sat with his own hundred councillors apart, then afterwards they united them all into one body, as at the present time. Tatius dwelt where now is the temple of Moneta, and Romulus beside the so-called Steps of Fair Shore;[4] these are near the descent into the

[1] Cf. chapter xiii. 1. [2] Cf. chapter ix. 3.
[3] Cf. chapter xiv. 6.
[4] The Greek text is probably corrupt. The "scalae Caci," or *Steps of Cacus*, must be meant.

περὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸν μέγαν ἐκ Πα-
5 λατίου κατάβασιν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν κράνειαν ἔφασαν τὴν ἱερὰν γεγονέναι, μυθολογοῦντες ὅτι πειρώμενος ὁ Ῥωμύλος αὐτοῦ λόγχην ἀκοντίσειεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀουεντίνου τὸ ξυστὸν ἔχουσαν κρανείας· καταδύσης δὲ τῆς αἰχμῆς εἰς βάθος, ἀνασπάσαι μὲν οὐδεὶς πειρωμένων πολλῶν ἴσχυσε, τὸ δὲ ξύλον ἔστεξεν ἡ γῆ ζώφυτος οὖσα, καὶ βλαστοὺς ἀνῆκε καὶ στέλεχος εὐμέγεθες κρανείας ἔθρεψε. τοῦτο δ' οἱ μετὰ Ῥωμύλον ὡς ὄν τι τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἱερῶν φυλάττοντες καὶ
6 σεβόμενοι περιετείχισαν. ὅτῳ δὲ προσιόντι δόξειε μὴ θαλερὸν εἶναι μηδὲ χλωρόν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἀτροφεῖν καὶ φθίνειν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔφραζε κραυγῇ τοῖς προστυγχάνουσιν, οἱ δ', ὥσπερ ἐμπρησμῷ βοηθοῦντες, ἐβόων ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ,[1] καὶ συνέτρεχον πανταχόθεν ἀγγεῖα πλήρη κομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον. Γαΐου δὲ Καίσαρος, ὥς φασι, τὰς ἀναβάσεις ἐπισκευάζοντος καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν περιορυττόντων τὰ πλησίον, ἔλαθον αἱ ῥίζαι κακωθεῖσαι παντάπασι καὶ τὸ φυτὸν ἐμαράνθη.

XXI. Μῆνας μὲν οὖν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐδέξαντο, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὅσα καλῶς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ Νομᾶ βίῳ γέγραπται· θυρεοῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐχρήσατο, καὶ μετέβαλε τὸν ὁπλισμὸν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, Ἀργολικὰς πρότερον ἀσπίδας φορούντων. ἑορτῶν δὲ καὶ θυσιῶν ἀλλήλοις μετεῖχον, ἃς μὲν ἦγε τὰ γένη πρότερον οὐκ ἀνελόντες, ἑτέρας δὲ θέμενοι καινάς, ὧν ἥ τε τῶν Ματρωναλίων ἐστί, δοθεῖσα ταῖς γυναιξὶν

[1] ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ with two Bodleian MSS. (B^{ab}) : ὕδωρ.

Circus Maximus from the Palatine. There also, it is said, grew the sacred cornel-tree, of which the following tale is told. Romulus, once, in trial of his strength, cast thither from the Aventine hill a spear, the shaft of which was made of cornel-wood; the head of the spear sank deep into the ground, and no one had strength to pull it up, though many tried, but the earth, which was fertile, cherished the wooden shaft, and sent up shoots from it, and produced a cornel-trunk of good size. Those who came after Romulus preserved this with religious care as one of the most sacred objects, and walled it in. And if any visitor thought that it was not green nor flourishing, but likely to wither away and die, he immediately proclaimed it loudly to all he met, and these, as though helping to save a house on fire, would cry "Water! Water!" and run together from all sides carrying full buckets to the place. But when Caius Caesar, as they say, was repairing the steps about the enclosure, and the workmen dug here and there in the neighbourhood, the roots were inadvertently destroyed and the tree withered away.

XXI. The Sabines, then, adopted the Roman months, about which I have written sufficiently in my Life of Numa.[1] Romulus, on the other hand, made use of their oblong shields, and changed his own armour and that of the Romans, who before that carried round shields of the Argive pattern. Feasts and sacrifices they shared with one another, not discarding any which the two peoples had observed before, but instituting other new ones. One of these is the Matronalia, which was bestowed upon the women to commemorate their putting a

[1] Chapters xviii. and xix.

ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου καταλύσει, καὶ ἡ τῶν Καρ-
2 μενταλίων. τὴν δὲ Καρμένταν οἴονταί τινες μοῖ-
ραν εἶναι κυρίαν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως· διὸ καὶ
τιμῶσιν αὐτὴν αἱ μητέρες. οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Εὐάν- 3
δρου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος γυναῖκα, μαντικήν τινα καὶ
φοιβαστικὴν ἐμμέτρων χρησμῶν γενομένην, Καρ-
μένταν ἐπονομασθῆναι (τὰ γὰρ ἔπη κάρμινα
καλοῦσι)· Νικοστράτη[1] δὲ ἦν ὄνομα κύριον αὐτῇ.
καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὁμολογεῖται· τὴν δὲ Καρμένταν
ἔνιοι πιθανώτερον ἀφερμηνεύουσιν οἷον ἐστερη-
μένην νοῦ, διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς παρα-
φροσύνας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ στέρεσθαι καρῆρε, μέντεμ
3 δὲ τὸν νοῦν ὀνομάζουσι. περὶ δὲ τῶν Παριλίων
προείρηται. τὰ δὲ Λουπερκάλια τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ
δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι καθάρσια· δρᾶται γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις
ἀποφράσι τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνός, ὃν καθάρσιον
ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύσειε, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τὸ
παλαιὸν ἐκάλουν Φεβράτην· τοὔνομα δὲ τῆς
ἑορτῆς ἑλληνιστὶ σημαίνει Λύκαια, καὶ δοκεῖ διὰ
τοῦτο παμπάλαιος ἀπ' Ἀρκάδων εἶναι τῶν περὶ
4 Εὔανδρον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν κοινόν ἐστι· δύναται
γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς λυκαίνης γεγονέναι τοὔνομα. καὶ γὰρ
ἀρχομένους τῆς περιδρομῆς τοὺς Λουπέρκους ὁρῶ-
μεν ἐντεῦθεν ὅπου τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἐκτεθῆναι λέγου-
σι. τὰ δὲ δρώμενα τὴν αἰτίαν ποιεῖ δυστόπαστον·
σφάττουσι γὰρ αἶγας, εἶτα μειρακίων δυοῖν ἀπὸ

[1] Νικοστράτη Coraës and Bekker with the MSS. : Νικοστράτῃ after Stephanus.

stop to the war; and another is the Carmentalia. This Carmenta is thought by some to be a Fate presiding over human birth, and for this reason she is honoured by mothers. Others, however, say that the wife of Evander the Arcadian,[1] who was a prophetess and inspired to utter oracles in verse, was therefore surnamed Carmenta, since "carmina" is their word for *verses*, her own proper name being Nicostrate. As to her own name there is general agreement, but some more probably interpret Carmenta as meaning *bereft of mind*, because of her ecstasies under inspiration, since "carere" is the Roman word for *to be bereft*, and "mens" for *mind*. Of the Parilia I have spoken before.[2] As for the Lupercalia, judging by the time of its celebration, it would seem to be a feast of purification, for it is observed on the inauspicious days[3] of the month of February, which name can be interpreted to mean *purification*, and the very day of the feast was anciently called Febrata. But the name of the festival has the meaning of the Greek "Lycaea," or *feast of wolves*, which makes it seem of great antiquity and derived from the Arcadians in the following of Evander.[4] Indeed, this meaning of the name is commonly accepted; for it can be connected with the she-wolf of story. And besides, we see that the Luperci[5] begin their course around the city at that point where Romulus is said to have been exposed. However, the actual ceremonies of the festival are such that the reason for the name is hard to guess. For the priests slaughter

[1] Cf. Plutarch's *Roman Questions*, 56 (*Morals*, p. 278 b, c), and Livy, i. 7, 8

[2] Chapter xii. 1.

[3] "Dies nefasti."

[4] Cf. Livy, i. 5, 1–2.

[5] Priests of Faunus, the Roman Pan.

γένους προσαχθέντων αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν ἡμαγμένῃ μαχαίρᾳ τοῦ μετώπου θιγγάνουσιν, ἕτεροι δ' ἀπομάττουσιν εὐθύς, ἔριον βεβρεγμένον γάλακτι προσφέροντες. γελᾶν δὲ δεῖ τὰ μειράκια μετὰ τὴν ἀπόμαξιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ δέρματα τῶν αἰγῶν κατατεμόντες διαθέουσιν ἐν περιζώσμασι γυμνοί, τοῖς σκύτεσι τὸν ἐμποδὼν παίοντες. αἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γυναῖκες οὐ φεύγουσι τὸ παίεσθαι, νομίζουσαι πρὸς εὐτοκίαν καὶ κύησιν συνεργεῖν. ἴδιον δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τὸ καὶ κύνα θύειν τοὺς Λουπέρκους.

6 Βούτας δέ τις αἰτίας μυθώδεις ἐν ἐλεγείοις περὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀναγράφων, φησὶ τοῦ Ἀμυλίου τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον κρατήσαντας ἐλθεῖν δρόμῳ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ νηπίοις οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἡ λύκαινα θηλὴν ὑπέσχε, καὶ μίμημα τοῦ τε δρόμου τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγεσθαι, καὶ τρέχειν τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους τοὺς

Ἐμποδίους τύπτοντας, ὅπως τότε φάσγαν' ἔχοντες
ἐξ Ἄλβης ἔθεον Ῥωμύλος ἠδὲ Ῥέμος.

καὶ τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἡμαγμένον προσφέρεσθαι τῷ μετώπῳ τοῦ τότε φόνου καὶ κινδύνου σύμβολον, τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος ἀποκάθαρσιν ὑπόμνημα
7 τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν εἶναι. Γάϊος δὲ Ἀκίλιος ἱστορεῖ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως τὰ θρέμματα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τῷ Φαύνῳ προσευξαμένους ἐκδραμεῖν γυμνοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν, ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱδρῶτος μὴ ἐνοχλοῖντο· καὶ

goats, and then, after two youths of noble birth have been brought to them, some of them touch their foreheads with a bloody knife, and others wipe the stain off at once with wool dipped in milk. The youths must laugh after their foreheads are wiped. After this they cut the goats' skins into strips and run about, with nothing on but a girdle, striking all who meet them with the thongs,[1] and young married women do not try to avoid their blows, fancying that they promote conception and easy child-birth. A peculiarity of the festival is that the Luperci sacrifice a dog also.

A certain Butas, who wrote fabulous explanations of Roman customs in elegiac verse, says that Romulus and Remus, after their victory over Amulius, ran exultantly to the spot where, when they were babes, the she-wolf gave them suck, and that the festival is conducted in imitation of this action, and that the two youths of noble birth run

"Smiting all those whom they meet, as once with brandished weapons,
Down from Alba's heights, Remus and Romulus ran."

And that the bloody sword is applied to their foreheads as a symbol of the peril and slaughter of that day, while the cleansing of their foreheads with milk is in remembrance of the nourishment which the babes received. But Caius Acilius writes that before the founding of the city Romulus and his brother once lost their flocks, and after praying to Faunus, ran forth in quest of them naked, that they might not be impeded by sweat; and that this is the reason why

[1] Cf. Plutarch's *Antony*, xii. 1.

διὰ τοῦτο γυμνοὺς περιτρέχειν τοὺς Λουπέρκους. τὸν δὲ κύνα φαίη τις ἄν, εἰ μὲν ἡ θυσία καθαρμός
8 ἐστι, θύεσθαι καθαρσίῳ χρωμένων αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ Ἕλληνες ἔν τε τοῖς καθαρσίοις σκύλακας ἐκφέρουσι καὶ πολλαχοῦ χρῶνται τοῖς λεγομένοις περισκυλακισμοῖς· εἰ δὲ τῇ λυκαίνῃ χαριστήρια ταῦτα καὶ τροφεῖα καὶ σωτήρια Ῥωμύλου τελοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀτόπως ὁ κύων σφάττεται· λύκοις γάρ ἐστι πολέμιος· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία κολάζεται τὸ ζῷον ὡς παρενοχλοῦν τοὺς Λουπέρκους ὅταν περιθέωσι.

XXII. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἁγιστείαν Ῥωμύλον καταστῆσαι πρῶτον, ἀποδείξαντα παρθένους ἱερὰς Ἑστιάδας προσαγορευομένας. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν εἰς Νομᾶν ἀναφέρουσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὸν Ῥωμύλον θεοσεβῆ διαφερόντως, ἔτι δὲ μαντικὸν ἱστοροῦσι γενέσθαι, καὶ φορεῖν ἐπὶ μαντικῇ τὸ καλούμενον λίτυον, ἔστι δὲ καμπύλη ῥάβδος, ᾗ τὰ πλινθία καθεζομένους ἐπ'
2 οἰωνῶν διαγράφειν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλαττόμενον ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τὰ Κελτικὰ τῆς πόλεως ἁλούσης· εἶτα μέντοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπεσόντων εὑρεθῆναι κατὰ τέφρας βαθείας ἀπαθὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπολωλόσι καὶ διεφθαρμένοις.

3 Ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμους τινάς, ὧν σφοδρὸς μέν ἐστιν ὁ γυναικὶ μὴ διδοὺς ἀπολείπειν ἄνδρα, γυναῖκα δὲ διδοὺς ἐκβάλλειν[1] ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ καὶ

[1] ἐκβάλλειν Bekker, after Coraës: ἐκβαλεῖν.

the Luperci run about naked. If the sacrifice is a purification, one might say that the dog is sacrificed as being a suitable victim for such rites, since the Greeks, in their rites of purification, carry forth puppies for burial, and in many places make use of the rites called "periskulakismoi;"[1] and if these rites are performed in grateful remembrance of the she-wolf that nourished and preserved Romulus, it is not without reason that the dog is slain, since it is an enemy to wolves, unless, indeed, the animal is thus punished for annoying the Luperci when they run about.

XXII. It is said also that Romulus first introduced the consecration of fire, and appointed holy virgins to guard it, called Vestals. Others attribute this institution to Numa,[2] although admitting that Romulus was in other ways eminently religious, and they say further that he was a diviner, and carried for purposes of divination the so-called "lituus," a crooked staff with which those who take auguries from the flight of birds mark out the regions of the heavens. This staff, which was carefully preserved on the Palatine, is said to have disappeared when the city was taken at the time of the Gallic invasion; afterwards, however, when the Barbarians had been expelled, it was found under deep ashes unharmed by the fire, although everything about it was completely destroyed.[3]

He also enacted certain laws, and among them one of severity, which forbids a wife to leave her husband, but permits a husband to put away his wife

[1] Sacrifices where puppies were killed and carried about.
[2] See *Numa*, chapters ix. and x.
[3] Cf. *Camillus*, xxxii. 4–5.

τέκνων ὑποβολῇ[1] καὶ μοιχευθεῖσαν· εἰ δ' ἄλλως 32
τις ἀποπέμψαιτο, τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τῆς
γυναικὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν κελεύων·
τὸν δ' ἀποδόμενον γυναῖκα θύεσθαι χθονίοις θεοῖς.
4 ἴδιον δὲ τὸ μηδεμίαν δίκην κατὰ πατροκτόνων
ὁρίσαντα πᾶσαν ἀνδροφονίαν πατροκτονίαν προσ-
ειπεῖν, ὡς τούτου μὲν ὄντος ἐναγοῦς, ἐκείνου δὲ
ἀδυνάτου. καὶ μέχρι χρόνων πολλῶν ἔδοξεν
ὀρθῶς ἀπογνῶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀδικίαν· οὐδεὶς
γὰρ ἔδρασε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ σχεδὸν ἐτῶν
ἑξακοσίων διαγενομένων, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν
Ἀννιβιακὸν πόλεμον ἱστορεῖται Λεύκιος Ὄστιος
πατροκτόνος γενέσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανὰ
περὶ τούτων.

XXIII. Ἔτει δὲ πέμπτῳ τῆς Τατίου βασιλείας,
οἰκεῖοί τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενεῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπὸ
Λαυρέντου βαδίζουσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐντυχόντες καθ'
ὁδόν, ἐπεχείρουν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ χρήματα βίᾳ,
καὶ μὴ προϊεμένους, ἀλλ' ἀμυνομένους ἀνεῖλον.
ἔργου δὲ δεινοῦ τολμηθέντος, ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλος
εὐθὺς δεῖν ᾤετο κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας,
2 ὁ δὲ Τάτιος ἐξέκρουε καὶ παρῆγε. καὶ τοῦτο
μόνον αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρξεν αἴτιον ἐμφανοῦς διαφορᾶς·
τὰ δ' ἄλλα κατακοσμοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἔνι μά-
λιστα κοινῶς ἐχρῶντο καὶ μεθ' ὁμονοίας τοῖς
πράγμασιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων οἰκεῖοι, πάσης
ἐξειργόμενοι δίκης νομίμου διὰ τὸν Τάτιον, ἀπο-
κτιννύουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν Λαβινίῳ θύοντα μετὰ Ῥω-
μύλου προσπεσόντες, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλον ὡς δίκαιον

[1] ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ καὶ τέκνων ὑποβολῇ with Cobet: ἐπὶ φαρ-
μακείᾳ τέκνων ἢ κλειδῶν ὑποβολῇ (*for poisoning his children or counterfeiting his keys*).

for using poisons, for substituting children, and for adultery; but if a man for any other reason sends his wife away, the law prescribes that half his substance shall belong to his wife, and the other half be consecrate to Ceres; and whosoever puts away his wife, shall make a sacrifice to the gods of the lower world. It is also a peculiar thing that Romulus ordained no penalty for parricides, but called all murder parricide, looking upon one as abominable, and upon the other as impossible. And for many ages his judgement of such a crime seemed to have been right, for no one did any such deed at Rome for almost six hundred years; but after the war with Hannibal, Lucius Hostius is reported to have been the first parricide. So much, then, may suffice concerning these matters.

XXIII. In the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, some retainers and kinsmen of his, falling in with ambassadors from Laurentum on their way to Rome, attempted to rob them of their money,[1] and when they would not stand and deliver, slew them. It was a bold and dreadful crime, and Romulus thought its perpetrators ought to be punished at once, but Tatius tried to put off and turn aside the course of justice. This was the sole occasion of open variance between them; in all other matters they acted in the utmost concert and administered affairs with unanimity. The friends of the slain ambassadors, shut out as they were from all lawful redress, through the efforts of Tatius, fell upon him as he was sacrificing with Romulus at Lavinium, and killed him, but escorted Romulus on his way with loud praises of his

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 14, 1–3.

3 ἄνδρα προὔπεμψαν εὐφημοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Τατίου κομίσας ἐντίμως ἔθαψε, καὶ κεῖται περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρμιλούστριον ἐν Ἀουεντίνῳ, τῆς δὲ δίκης τοῦ φόνου παντάπασιν ἠμέλησεν. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστοροῦσι τὴν μὲν πόλιν τῶν Λαυρεντίων φοβηθεῖσαν ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αὐτόχειρας Τατίου, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλον
4 ἀφεῖναι, φήσαντα φόνον φόνῳ λελύσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ λόγον μέν τινα παρέσχε καὶ ὑποψίαν ὡς ἀσμένῳ γέγονεν αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων οὐδὲν διετάραξεν, οὐδὲ διεστασίασε τοὺς Σαβίνους, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ φόβῳ τῆς δυνάμεως, οἱ δ' ὡς θεῷ χρώμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν,[1] θαυμάζοντες διετέλουν.

5 Ἐθαύμαζον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπων τὸν Ῥωμύλον· οἱ δὲ προγενέστεροι Λατῖνοι πέμψαντες αὐτῷ φιλίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ συμμαχίαν. Φιδήνας δὲ εἷλεν, ἀστυγείτονα τῆς Ῥώμης πόλιν, ὡς μέν ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐξαίφνης τοὺς ἱππέας πέμψας καὶ κελεύσας ὑποτεμεῖν τῶν πυλῶν τοὺς στρόφιγγας, εἶτα ἐπιφανεὶς αὐτὸς ἀπροσδοκήτως·
6 ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσι προτέρους ἐκείνους ἐμβαλόντας ἐλάσασθαί τε λείαν καὶ καθυβρίσαι πολλὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὸ προάστειον, ἐνέδρας δὲ τὸν Ῥωμύλον θέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφθείραντα πολλοὺς λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἀνεῖλεν οὐδὲ κατέσκαψεν, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησεν ἀποικίαν,

[1] χρώμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν MSS., Coraës; Bekker corrects to χρώμενον εἰς πᾶν εὐμενεῖ (*because heaven favoured him in all his undertakings.*)

justice. Romulus brought the body of Tatius home and gave it honourable burial, and it lies near the so-called Armilustrium, on the Aventine hill; but he took no steps whatsoever to bring his murderers to justice. And some historians write that the city of Laurentum, in terror, delivered up the murderers of Tatius, but that Romulus let them go, saying that murder had been requited with murder. This led some to say and suspect that he was glad to be rid of his colleague, but it caused no disturbance in the government, nor did it lead the Sabines into faction, nay, some through the good-will they had for him, others through their fear of his power, and others because they regarded him as a benevolent god, all continued to hold him in reverence to the end.

Romulus was held in reverence also by many foreign peoples, and the earlier Latins sent ambassadors and established friendship and alliance with him. Fidenae, a neighbouring city to Rome, he took,[1] as some say, by sending his horsemen of a sudden with orders to cut away the pivots of the gates, and then appearing himself unexpectedly; but others say that the men of Fidenae first made an incursion, driving off booty and devastating the territory and outskirts of the city, and that Romulus set an ambush for them, killed many of them, and took their city. He did not, however, destroy or raze it to the ground, but made it a colony of Rome, and sent thither

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 14, 4–11.

δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἀποστείλας οἰκήτορας εἰδοῖς Ἀπριλλίαις.

XXIV. Ἐκ τούτου λοιμὸς ἐμπίπτει, θανάτους μὲν αἰφνιδίους ἀνθρώποις ἄνευ νόσων ἐπιφέρων, ἁπτόμενος δὲ καὶ καρπῶν ἀφορίαις καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀγονίαις. ὕσθη δὲ καὶ σταγόσιν αἵματος ἡ πόλις, ὥστε πολλὴν προσγενέσθαι τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις πάθεσι δεισιδαιμονίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὸ Λαύρεντον οἰκοῦσιν ὅμοια συνέβαινεν, ἤδη παντάπασιν ἐδόκει τῶν ἐπὶ Τατίῳ συγκεχυμένων δικαίων ἐπί τε τοῖς πρέσβεσι φονευθεῖσι μήνιμα δαι-
2 μόνιον ἀμφοτέρας ἐλαύνειν τὰς πόλεις. ἐκδοθέντων δὲ τῶν φονέων καὶ κολασθέντων παρ' ἀμφοτέροις, ἐλώφησεν ἐπιδήλως τὰ δεινά· καὶ καθαρμοῖς ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἥγνισε τὰς πόλεις, οὓς ἔτι νῦν ἱστοροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Φερεντίνης πύλης συντελεῖσθαι.

Πρὶν δὲ λῆξαι τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπέθεντο Καμέριοι 3
Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κατέδραμον τὴν χώραν, ὡς ἀδυ-
3 νάτων ἀμύνεσθαι διὰ τὸ πάθος. εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἑξακισχιλίους ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑλών, τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν περιγενομένων εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξῴκισε, τῶν δ' ὑπομενόντων διπλασίους ἐκ Ῥώμης κατῴκισεν εἰς τὴν Καμερίαν Σεξτιλίας καλάνδαις. τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιῆν πολιτῶν ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη σχεδὸν οἰκοῦντι τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις καὶ χαλκοῦν ἐκόμισε τέθριππον ἐκ Καμερίας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀνέστησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ποιησάμενος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ Νίκης στεφανούμενον.

XXV. Οὕτω δὲ ῥωννυμένοις τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ μὲν ἀσθενέστεροι τῶν προσοίκων ὑπεδύοντο

twenty-five hundred colonists, on the Ides of April.

XXIV. After this, a plague fell upon the land, bringing sudden death without previous sickness upon the people, and afflicting the crops with unfruitfulness and the cattle with barrenness. There was a rain of blood also in the city, so that many superstitious fears were added to their unavoidable sufferings. And when similar calamities visited the people of Laurentum, all agreed at once that it was the miscarriage of justice for the death of Tatius and the slain ambassadors which brought the wrath of heaven down upon both cities. The murderers, therefore, were delivered up on both sides and punished, and the mischief visibly abated. Romulus also purified the cities with lustral rites, which they say are celebrated to this day at the Ferentine gate.

But before the pestilence had ceased, the people of Cameria attacked the Romans and overran their territory, thinking them incapable of defending themselves by reason of their distress. Romulus therefore at once marched against them, overcame them in battle, and killed six thousand of them. He also took their city, transplanted half of the survivors to Rome, and sent to Cameria as colonists from Rome twice the number he had left there, and this on the first of August. So many citizens had he to spare after dwelling in Rome less than sixteen years. Among other spoils he brought also a bronze four-horse chariot from Cameria, and dedicated it in the temple of Vulcan. For it he had a statue made of himself, with a figure of Victory crowning him.

XXV. The Roman state thus gathering strength, its weaker neighbours submitted to it, and were

καὶ τυγχάνοντες ἀδείας ἠγάπων· οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ δεδιότες καὶ φθονοῦντες οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐνίστασθαι τῇ αὐξήσει καὶ κολούειν τὸν Ῥωμύλον. πρῶτοι δὲ Τυρρηνῶν Οὐήϊοι, χώραν κεκτημένοι πολλὴν καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντες, ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσαντο πολέμου Φιδήνας ἀπαιτεῖν, 2 ὡς προσήκουσαν αὐτοῖς. τὸ δ' οὐκ ἄδικον ἦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γελοῖον, ὅτι κινδυνεύουσι τότε καὶ πολεμουμένοις οὐ προσαμύναντες, ἀλλ' ἐάσαντες ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἰκίας καὶ γῆν ἀπαιτοῖεν ἄλλων ἐχόντων. καθυβρισθέντες οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσι δίχα διεῖλον ἑαυτούς, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπέκειντο τῷ Φιδηνῶν στρατεύματι, τῷ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμύλον ἀπήντων. πρὸς μὲν οὖν Φιδήναις δισχιλίους Ῥωμαίων κρατήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν, ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου δὲ νικηθέντες 3 ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἀπέβαλον. αὖθις δὲ περὶ Φιδήνην ἐμαχέσαντο· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἔργον αὐτοῦ Ῥωμύλου γενέσθαι, τέχνην τε μετὰ τόλμης πᾶσαν ἐπιδειξαμένου ῥώμῃ τε καὶ ποδωκείᾳ πολὺ δόξαντος ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονι κεχρῆσθαι, πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι· τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἐνίων λεγόμενον κομιδῇ μυθῶδές ἐστι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως ἄπιστον, ὅτι μυρίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων πεσόντων ὑπερημίσεις ἦσαν οὓς αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ Ῥωμύλος ἔκτεινεν, ὅπου γε καὶ Μεσσήνιοι κόμπῳ χρήσασθαι δοκοῦσι περὶ Ἀριστομένους λέγοντες ὡς τρὶς ἑκατομφόνια θύσειεν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.

4 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς, ἀφεὶς φεύγειν τοὺς

satisfied to be let alone ; but the powerful ones, out of fear and jealousy, thought they ought not to tolerate, but resist and check the growing power of Romulus. And of the Tuscans, the people of Veii, who possessed much territory and dwelt in a great city, were the first to begin war[1] with a demand for Fidenae, which they said belonged to them. Now this was not only unjust, it was actually ridiculous, that they, who had not come to the aid of the people of Fidenae when they were in the perils of war, but suffered them to perish, then demanded their houses and land from those who had come into possession of them. Accordingly, Romulus gave them contemptuous answers, upon which they divided themselves into two armies, attacked Fidenae with one, and confronted Romulus with the other. Before Fidenae, then, they overpowered two thousand Romans and slew them ; but they were defeated by Romulus with a loss of eight thousand men. Once more a battle was fought near Fidenae, and here all agree that the victory was chiefly due to Romulus himself, who displayed every possible combination of skill and bravery, and seemed endowed with strength and swiftness far beyond the lot of man. But there is a statement made by some writers which is altogether fabulous, nay rather, wholly incredible, namely, that of the fourteen thousand Tuscans who fell in this battle, more than half were slain by Romulus with his own hand ; for even the Messenians seem to have been boastfully extravagant in saying that Aristomenes thrice offered sacrifice for a hundred Lacedaemonian enemies slain.

After the rout of the enemy, Romulus suffered the

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 15, 1–5.

περιόντας ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐχώρει τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο μεγάλης συμφορᾶς γενομένης, ἀλλὰ δεηθέντες ὁμολογίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ φιλίαν εἰς ἔτη ἑκατόν, χώραν τε πολλὴν προέμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ἣν Σεπτεμπάγιον καλοῦσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἑπταμόριον, καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκστάντες ἁλοπηγίων, καὶ πεντήκοντα
5 τῶν ἀρίστων ὁμήρους ἐγχειρίσαντες. ἐθριάμβευσε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων εἰδοῖς Ὀκτωβρίαις, ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχων καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Οὐηΐων, ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην, ἀφρόνως δόξαντα καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν ἀπείρως τοῖς πράγμασι κεχρῆσθαι. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτι θύοντες ἐπινίκια, γέροντα μὲν ἄγουσι δι' ἀγορᾶς εἰς Καπιτώλιον ἐν περιπορφύρῳ, βοῦλλαν αὐτῷ παιδικὴν ἄψαντες, κηρύττει δ' ὁ κῆρυξ Σαρδιανοὺς ὠνίους. Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ἄποικοι Σαρδιανῶν λέγονται, Τυρρηνικὴ δὲ πόλις οἱ Οὐήϊοι.

XXVI. Τοῦτον ἔσχατον πόλεμον ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπολέμησεν. εἶθ', ὦ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πλὴν ὀλίγων πάσχουσι πάντες οἱ μεγάλαις καὶ παραλόγοις ἀρθέντες εὐτυχίαις εἰς δύναμιν καὶ ὄγκον, οὐδ' αὐτὸς διέφυγε παθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκτεθαρρηκὼς τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ βαρυτέρῳ φρονήματι χρώμενος, ἐξίστατο τοῦ δημοτικοῦ, καὶ παρήλλαττεν εἰς μοναρχίαν ἐπαχθῆ καὶ λυποῦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος πρῶτον ᾧ κατεσχημάτιζεν ἑαυτόν.
2 ἁλουργῆ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεδύετο χιτῶνα, καὶ τήβεννον 34
ἐφόρει περιπόρφυρον, ἐν θρόνῳ δ' ἀνακλίτῳ καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν. ἦσαν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τῶν νέων οἱ καλούμενοι Κέλερες, ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰς ὑπουργίας ὀξύτητος. ἐβάδιζον δὲ πρόσ-

survivors to escape, and moved upon their city itself. But they could not hold out after so great a reverse, and suing for peace, made a treaty of friendship for a hundred years, giving up a large portion of their territory, called Septempagium, or the *Seven Districts*, abandoning their salt-works along the river, and delivering up fifty of their chief men as hostages. Romulus also celebrated a triumph for this victory on the Ides of October, having in his train, besides many other captives, the leader of the Veientes, an elderly man, who seems to have conducted the campaign unwisely, and without the experience to be expected of his years. Wherefore to this very day, in offering a sacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the forum to the Capitol, wearing a boy's toga with a bulla attached to it, while the herald cries: "Sardians for sale!" For the Tuscans are said to be colonists from Sardis, and Veii is a Tuscan city.

XXVI. This was the last war waged by Romulus. Afterwards, like many, nay, like almost all men who have been lifted by great and unexpected strokes of good fortune to power and dignity, even he was emboldened by his achievements to take on a haughtier bearing, to renounce his popular ways, and to change to the ways of a monarch, which were made hateful and vexatious first by the state which he assumed. For he dressed in a scarlet tunic, and wore over it a toga bordered with purple, and sat on a recumbent throne when he gave audience. And he had always about him some young men called Celeres, from their *swiftness* in doing service.[1] Others, too, went

[1] Cf. chapter x. 2; and Livy, i. 15, 8.

θεν ἕτεροι βακτηρίαις ἀνείργοντες τὸν ὄχλον, ὑπεζωσμένοι δὲ ἱμάντας, ὥστε συνδεῖν εὐθὺς οὓς προστάξειε.

3 Τὸ δὲ δῆσαι Λατῖνοι πάλαι μὲν λιγᾶρε, νῦν δὲ ἀλλιγᾶρε καλοῦσιν· ὅθεν οἵ τε ῥαβδοῦχοι λικτώρεις, αἵ τε ῥάβδοι βάκυλα καλοῦνται, διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι τότε βακτηρίαις. εἰκὸς δὲ λικτώρεις ἐντιθεμένου τοῦ κάππα νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, πρότερον λιτώρεις, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ λειτουργοὺς ὄντας. λήϊτον γὰρ τὸ δημόσιον ἔτι νῦν Ἕλληνες καὶ λαὸν τὸ πλῆθος ὀνομάζουσιν.

XXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πάππου Νομήτορος ἐν Ἄλβῃ τελευτήσαντος, αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν προσῆκον, εἰς μέσον ἔθηκε τὴν πολιτείαν δημαγωγῶν, καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείκνυεν ἄρχοντα τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἐδίδαξε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατοὺς ἀβασίλευτον ζητεῖν καὶ αὐτόνομον πολιτείαν, ἀρχομένους ἐν μέρει καὶ ἄρχοντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ καλούμενοι πατρίκιοι πραγμάτων μετεῖχον, ἀλλ' ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα περιῆν ἔντιμον αὐτοῖς, ἔθους ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμης ἀθροιζομένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευ-
2 τήριον. εἶτα σιγῇ προστάττοντος ἠκροῶντο· καὶ τῷ πρότεροι τὸ δεδογμένον ἐκείνῳ πυθέσθαι τῶν πολλῶν πλέον ἔχοντες ἀπηλλάττοντο. καὶ τἆλλα μὲν ἦν ἐλάττονα· τῆς δὲ γῆς τὴν δορίκτητον

before him with staves, keeping off the populace, and they were girt with thongs, with which to bind at once those whom he ordered to be bound.

To bind, in the Latin language, was formerly "ligare," though now it is "alligare"; whence the wand-bearers are called "lictores," and the wands themselves "bacula," from the use, in the time of Romulus, of "bakteriai," which is the Greek word for *staves.*[1] But it is likely that the "c" in the word "lictores," as now used, has been added, and that the word was formerly "litores," which is the Greek "leitourgoi," meaning *public servants.* For the Greeks still call a public hall "leïton," and the people "laos." [1]

XXVII. But when his grandfather Numitor died in Alba, and its throne devolved upon Romulus, he courted the favour of the people by putting the government in their hands, and appointed an annual ruler for the Albans. In this way he taught the influential men at Rome also to seek after a form of government which was independent and without a king, where all in turn were subjects and rulers. For by this time not even the so-called patricians had any share in the administration of affairs, but a name and garb of honour was all that was left them, and they assembled in their council-chamber more from custom than for giving advice. Once there, they listened in silence to the commands of the king, and went away with this advantage only over the multitude, that they learned earlier what he had decreed. The rest of his proceedings were of lesser importance; but when of his own motion merely

[1] For this assumed use of Greek words by the Romans, cf. chapter xv. 3.

αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δασάμενος τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους τοῖς Οὐηΐοις ἀποδούς, οὔτε πεισθέντων οὔτε βουλομένων ἐκείνων, ἔδοξε κο-
3 μιδῇ τὴν γερουσίαν προπηλακίζειν. ὅθεν εἰς ὑποψίαν καὶ διαβολὴν ἐνέπεσε παραλόγως ἀφανισθέντος αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον. ἠφανίσθη δὲ νώναις Ἰουλίαις, ὡς νῦν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς δὲ τότε, Κυντιλίαις, οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν βέβαιον οὐδὲ ὁμολογούμενον πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπολιπών, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν χρόνον, ὡς προείρηται. δρᾶται γὰρ ἔτι νῦν ὅμοια τῷ τότε πάθει πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην.

4 Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν τὴν ἀσάφειαν, ὅπου Σκηπίωνος Ἀφρικανοῦ μετὰ δεῖπνον οἴκοι τελευτήσαντος, οὐκ ἔσχε πίστιν οὐδ' ἔλεγχον ὁ τρόπος τῆς τελευτῆς, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτομάτως ὄντα φύσει νοσώδη καμεῖν λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ φαρμάκοις ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτοῦ νύκτωρ παρεισπεσόν-
5 τας. καίτοι Σκηπίων ἔκειτο νεκρὸς ἐμφανὴς ἰδεῖν πᾶσι, καὶ τὸ σῶμα παρεῖχε πᾶσιν ὁρώμενον ὑποψίαν τινὰ τοῦ πάθους καὶ κατανόησιν· Ῥωμύλου δὲ ἄφνω μεταλλάξαντος οὔτε μέρος ὤφθη σώματος οὔτε λείψανον ἐσθῆτος. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εἴκαζον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐπαναστάντας αὐτῷ καὶ διαφθείραντας, νείμαντας τὸ σῶμα καὶ μέρος ἕκαστον ἐνθέμενον εἰς
6 τὸν κόλπον ἐξενεγκεῖν· ἕτεροι δ' οἴονται μήτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου μήτε μόνων τῶν βουλευτῶν παρόντων γενέσθαι τὸν ἀφανισμόν, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν μὲν ἔξω περὶ τὸ καλούμενον αἰγὸς ἕλος

he divided the territory acquired in war among his soldiers, and gave back their hostages to the Veientes, without the consent or wish of the patricians, he was thought to be insulting their senate outright. Wherefore suspicion and calumny fell upon that body when he disappeared unaccountably a short time after. He disappeared on the Nones of July, as they now call the month, then Quintilis, leaving no certain account nor even any generally accepted tradition of his death, aside from the date of it, which I have just given. For on that day many ceremonies are still performed which bear a likeness to what then came to pass.

Nor need we wonder at this uncertainty, since although Scipio Africanus died at home after dinner, there is no convincing proof of the manner of his end, but some say that he passed away naturally, being of a sickly habit, some that he died of poison administered by his own hand, and some that his enemies broke into his house at night and smothered him. And yet Scipio's dead body lay exposed for all to see, and all who beheld it formed therefrom some suspicion and conjecture of what had happened to it; whereas Romulus disappeared suddenly, and no portion of his body or fragment of his clothing remained to be seen. But some conjectured that the senators, convened in the temple of Vulcan, fell upon him and slew him, then cut his body in pieces, put each a portion into the folds of his robe, and so carried it away. Others think that it was neither in the temple of Vulcan nor when the senators alone were present that he disappeared, but that he was holding an assembly of the people

ἐκκλησίαν ἄγοντα τὸν Ῥωμύλον, ἄφνω δὲ θαυμαστὰ καὶ κρείττονα λόγου περὶ τὸν ἀέρα πάθη γενέσθαι καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀπίστους· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς ἐπιλιπεῖν, νύκτα δὲ κατασχεῖν, οὐ πραεῖαν, οὐδὲ ἥσυχον, ἀλλὰ βροντάς τε δεινὰς καὶ πνοὰς ἀνέμων ζάλην ἐλαυνόντων πανταχόθεν
7 ἔχουσαν· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸν μὲν πολὺν ὄχλον σκεδασθέντα φυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δυνατοὺς συστραφῆναι μετ' ἀλλήλων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔληξεν ἡ ταραχὴ καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐξέλαμψε καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ταὐτὸ πάλιν συνερχομένων ζήτησις ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πόθος, οὐκ ἐᾶν τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐξετάζειν οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ τιμᾶν παρακελεύεσθαι 3
πᾶσι καὶ σέβεσθαι Ῥωμύλον, ὡς ἀνηρπασμένον εἰς θεοὺς καὶ θεὸν εὐμενῆ γενησόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐκ
8 χρηστοῦ βασιλέως. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς ταῦτα πειθομένους καὶ χαίροντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι μετ' ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν προσκυνοῦντας· εἶναι δέ τινας οἳ τὸ πρᾶγμα πικρῶς καὶ δυσμενῶς ἐξελέγχοντες ἐτάραττον τοὺς πατρικίους καὶ διέβαλλον, ὡς ἀβέλτερα τὸν δῆμον ἀναπείθοντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόχειρας ὄντας.

XXVIII. Οὕτως οὖν [1] ἄνδρα τῶν πατρικίων γένει πρῶτον, ἤθει τε δοκιμώτατον, αὐτῷ τε Ῥωμύλῳ πιστὸν καὶ συνήθη, τῶν ἀπ' Ἄλβης ἐποίκων, Ἰούλιον Πρόκλον, εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθόντα [2] καὶ τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἔνορκον ἱερῶν ἁψάμενον εἰπεῖν ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς ὁδὸν αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι Ῥωμύλος ἐξ ἐναντίας προσιὼν φανείη, καλὸς μὲν

[1] οὕτως οὖν Coraës, following Stephanus and C, has οὕτως οὖν ταραττομένων (*while such disorder prevailed*).

[2] προελθόντα MSS., Coraës, Sintenis[1]: παρελθόντα.

outside the city near the so-called Goat's Marsh,[1] when suddenly strange and unaccountable disorders with incredible changes filled the air; the light of the sun failed, and night came down upon them, not with peace and quiet, but with awful peals of thunder and furious blasts driving rain from every quarter, during which the multitude dispersed and fled, but the nobles gathered closely together; and when the storm had ceased, and the sun shone out, and the multitude, now gathered together again in the same place as before, anxiously sought for their king, the nobles would not suffer them to inquire into his disappearance nor busy themselves about it, but exhorted them all to honour and revere Romulus, since he had been caught up into heaven, and was to be a benevolent god for them instead of a good king. The multitude, accordingly, believing this and rejoicing in it, went away to worship him with good hopes of his favour; but there were some, it is said, who tested the matter in a bitter and hostile spirit, and confounded the patricians with the accusation of imposing a silly tale upon the people, and of being themselves the murderers of the king.

XXVIII. At this pass, then, it is said that one of the patricians, a man of noblest birth, and of the most reputable character, a trusted and intimate friend also of Romulus himself, and one of the colonists from Alba, Julius Proculus by name,[2] went into the forum and solemnly swore by the most sacred emblems before all the people that, as he was travelling on the road, he had seen Romulus coming

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 16, 1–4. [2] Cf. Livy, i. 16, 5–8.

ὀφθῆναι καὶ μέγας, ὡς οὔποτε πρόσθεν, ὅπλοις δὲ
2 λαμπροῖς καὶ φλέγουσι κεκοσμημένος. αὐτὸς μὲν
οὖν ἐκπλαγεὶς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν "Ὦ βασιλεῦ," φάναι, "τί δὴ παθὼν ἢ διανοηθεὶς ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν αἰτίαις ἀδίκοις καὶ πονηραῖς, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὀρφανὴν ἐν μυρίῳ πένθει προλέλοιπας;" ἐκεῖνον δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι, "Θεοῖς ἔδοξεν, ὦ Πρόκλε, τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι μετ' ἀνθρώπων χρόνον, ἐκεῖθεν ὄντας,[1] καὶ πόλιν ἐπ' ἀρχῇ καὶ δόξῃ μεγίστῃ κτίσαντας αὖθις οἰκεῖν οὐρανόν. ἀλλὰ χαῖρε, καὶ φράζε Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι σωφροσύνην μετ' ἀνδρείας ἀσκοῦντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρωπίνης ἀφίξονται δυνάμεως. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν εὐμενὴς ἔσομαι δαίμων
3 Κυρῖνος." ταῦτα πιστὰ μὲν εἶναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐδόκει διὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ διὰ τὸν ὅρκον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δαιμόνιόν τι συνεφάψασθαι πάθος ὅμοιον ἐνθουσιασμῷ· μηδένα γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν καὶ διαβολὴν ἀφέντας εὔχεσθαι Κυρίνῳ καὶ θεοκλυτεῖν ἐκεῖνον.

4 Ἔοικε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων περί τε Ἀριστέου τοῦ Προκοννησίου καὶ Κλεομήδους τοῦ Ἀστυπαλαιέως μυθολογουμένοις. Ἀριστέαν μὲν γὰρ ἔν τινι κναφείῳ τελευτῆσαί φασι, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μετιόντων αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων ἀφανὲς οἴχεσθαι· λέγειν δέ τινας εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἥκοντας ἐντυχεῖν Ἀριστέᾳ τὴν ἐπὶ Κρότωνος πορευομένῳ· Κλεομήδη δέ, ῥώμῃ καὶ μεγέθει σώματος ὑπερφυᾶ γενόμενον ἔμπληκτόν τε τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ μανικὸν ὄντα, πολλὰ δρᾶν βίαια, καὶ τέλος ἔν

[1] ἐκεῖθεν ὄντας MSS., Coraës, Sintenis[1], and Bekker; Sintenis[2] transposes to follow οὐρανόν.

to meet him, fair and stately to the eye as never before, and arrayed in bright and shining armour. He himself, then, affrighted at the sight, had said: "O King, what possessed thee, or what purpose hadst thou, that thou hast left us patricians a prey to unjust and wicked accusations, and the whole city sorrowing without end at the loss of its father?" Whereupon Romulus had replied: "It was the pleasure of the gods, O Proculus, from whom I came, that I should be with mankind only a short time, and that after founding a city destined to be the greatest on earth for empire and glory, I should dwell again in heaven. So farewell, and tell the Romans that if they practise self-restraint, and add to it valour, they will reach the utmost heights of human power. And I will be your propitious deity, Quirinus." These things seemed to the Romans worthy of belief, from the character of the man who related them, and from the oath which he had taken; moreover, some influence from heaven also, akin to inspiration, laid hold upon their emotions, for no man contradicted Proculus, but all put aside suspicion and calumny and prayed to Quirinus, and honoured him as a god.

Now this is like the fables which the Greeks tell about Aristeas of Proconnesus[1] and Cleomedes of Astypaleia.[2] For they say that Aristeas died in a fuller's shop, and that when his friends came to fetch away his body, it had vanished out of sight; and presently certain travellers returning from abroad said they had met Aristeas journeying towards Croton. Cleomedes also, who was of gigantic strength and stature, of uncontrolled temper, and like a mad man, is said to have done many deeds

[1] Cf. Herodotus, iv. 14 f. [2] Cf. Pausanias, ix. 6 ff.

τινι διδασκαλείῳ παίδων τὸν ὑπερείδοντα τὴν ὀροφὴν κίονα πατάξαντα τῇ χειρὶ κλάσαι μέσον
5 καὶ τὴν στέγην καταβαλεῖν. ἀπολομένων δὲ τῶν παίδων διωκόμενον εἰς κιβωτὸν καταφυγεῖν μεγάλην, καὶ τὸ πῶμα κατακλείσαντα συνέχειν ἐντός, ὥστε ἀποσπάσαι μὴ δύνασθαι πολλοὺς ὁμοῦ βιαζομένους· κατασχίσαντας δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν οὔτε ζῶντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὑρεῖν οὔτε νεκρόν. ἐκπλαγέντας οὖν ἀποστεῖλαι θεοπρόπους εἰς Δελφούς, οἷς τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν·

Ἔσχατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυπαλαιεύς.

6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀλκμήνης ἐκκομιζομένης νεκρὸν ἄδηλον γενέσθαι, λίθον δὲ φανῆναι κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης. καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσι, παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐκθειάζοντες τὰ θνητὰ τῆς φύσεως ἅμα τοῖς θείοις.

Ἀπογνῶναι μὲν οὖν παντάπασι τὴν θειότητα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνόσιον καὶ ἀγεννές, οὐρανῷ δὲ μιγνύειν γῆν ἀβέλτερον. ἐατέον οὖν, ἐχομένοις τῆς ἀσφαλείας, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, ὡς

σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,
ζωὸν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἴδωλον· τὸ γάρ
ἐστι μόνον
ἐκ θεῶν.

7 ἥκει γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἄνεισιν, οὐ μετὰ σώματος, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὅτι μάλιστα σώματος ἀπαλλαγῇ καὶ διακριθῇ καὶ γένηται καθαρὸν παντάπασι καὶ ἄσαρκον καὶ ἀγνόν. Αὔη γὰρ ψυχὴ

of violence, and finally, in a school for boys, he smote with his fist the pillar which supported the roof, broke it in two, and brought down the house. The boys were killed, and Aristeas, being pursued, took refuge in a great chest, closed the lid down, and held it so fast that many men with their united strength could not pull it up; but when they broke the chest to pieces, the man was not to be found, alive or dead. In their dismay, then, they sent messengers to consult the oracle at Delphi, and the Pythian priestess gave them this answer:—

"Last of the heroes he, Cleomedes, Astypalaean."

It is said also that the body of Alcmene disappeared, as they were carrying her forth for burial, and a stone was seen lying on the bier instead. In short, many such fables are told by writers who improbably ascribe divinity to the mortal features in human nature, as well as to the divine.

At any rate, to reject entirely the divinity of human virtue, were impious and base; but to mix heaven with earth is foolish. Let us therefore take the safe course and grant, with Pindar,[1] that

"Our bodies all must follow death's supreme behest,
But something living still survives, an image of life, for this alone
Comes from the gods."

Yes, it comes from them, and to them it returns, not with its body, but only when it is most completely separated and set free from the body, and becomes altogether pure, fleshless, and undefiled. For "a dry

[1] Fragment 131, Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* i.[4] p. 427.

ἀρίστη,[1] καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ὥσπερ ἀστραπὴ νέ- 36
φους διαπταμένη τοῦ σώματος. ἡ δὲ σώματι
πεφυρμένη καὶ περίπλεως σώματος, οἷον ἀναθυ-
μίασις ἐμβριθὴς καὶ ὁμιχλώδης, δυσέξαπτός ἐστι
8 καὶ δυσανακόμιστος. οὐδὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ σώματα
τῶν ἀγαθῶν συναναπέμπειν παρὰ φύσιν εἰς οὐ-
ρανόν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς παντά-
πασιν οἴεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν καὶ δίκην θείαν ἐκ μὲν
ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἥρωας, ἐκ δ' ἡρώων εἰς δαίμονας,
ἐκ δὲ δαιμόνων, ἂν τέλεον ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ καθαρ-
θῶσι καὶ ὁσιωθῶσιν ἅπαν ἀποφυγοῦσαι τὸ
θνητὸν καὶ παθητικόν, οὐ νόμῳ πόλεως, ἀλλ'
ἀληθείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λόγον εἰς θεοὺς
ἀναφέρεσθαι, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον
τέλος ἀπολαβούσας.

XXIX. Τὴν δὲ γενομένην ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ Ῥω-
μύλῳ τὸν Κυρῖνον οἱ μὲν Ἐνυάλιον προσαγορεύ-
ουσιν· οἱ δὲ πολίτην,[2] ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας
Κυρίτας ὠνόμαζον· οἱ δὲ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἢ τὸ δόρυ
τοὺς παλαιοὺς κῦριν ὀνομάζειν, καὶ Κυρίτιδος
Ἥρας ἄγαλμα καλεῖν ἐπ' αἰχμῆς ἱδρυμένον, ἐν δὲ
τῇ Ῥηγίᾳ δόρυ καθιδρυμένον Ἄρεα προσαγορ-
εύειν, καὶ δόρατι τοὺς ἐν πολέμοις ἀριστεύοντας
γεραίρειν· ὡς οὖν ἀρήϊόν τινα τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἢ
2 αἰχμητὴν θεὸν ὀνομασθῆναι Κυρῖνον. ἱερὸν μὲν
οὖν αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένον ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Κυ-
ρίνᾳ προσαγορευομένῳ δι' ἐκεῖνον, ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ᾗ
μετήλλαξεν, ὄχλου φυγὴ καλεῖται, καὶ νῶναι
Καπρατῖναι διὰ τὸ θύειν εἰς τὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ἔλος ἐκ

[1] Αὖη γὰρ ψυχὴ ἀρίστη Bekker: αὕτη γὰρ ψυχὴ ξηρὴ καὶ ἀρίστη.

[2] οἱ δὲ πολίτην, ὅτι Coraës and Bekker, with two Bodleian MSS. (B[ab]): οἱ δὲ ὅτι.

soul is best," according to Heracleitus,[1] and it flies from the body as lightning flashes from a cloud. But the soul which is contaminated with body, and surfeited with body, like a damp and heavy exhalation, is slow to release itself and slow to rise towards its source. We must not, therefore, violate nature by sending the bodies of good men with their souls to heaven, but implicitly believe that their virtues and their souls, in accordance with nature and divine justice, ascend from men to heroes, from heroes to demi-gods, and from demi-gods, after they have been made pure and holy, as in the final rites of initiation, and have freed themselves from mortality and sense, to gods, not by civic law, but in very truth and according to right reason, thus achieving the fairest and most blessed consummation.

XXIX. To the surname of Quirinus bestowed on Romulus, some give the meaning of *Mars*, others that of *Citizen*, because the citizens were called Quirites; but others say that the ancients called the *spear-head* (or the whole *spear*) "quiris," and gave the epithet Quiritis to the Juno whose statue leans upon a spear, and the name Mars to a spear consecrated in the Regia, and a spear as a prize to those who performed great exploits in war; and that Romulus was therefore called Quirinus as a *martial*, or *spear-wielding*, god. However that may be, a temple in his honour is built on the hill called Quirinalis after him, and the day on which he vanished is called People's Flight, and Capratine Nones, because they go out of the city and

[1] Fragment 74 (Bywater, *Heracliti Ephesii reliquiae*, p. 30).

πόλεως κατιόντας· τὴν γὰρ αἶγα κάπραν ὀνομάζουσιν. ἐξιόντες δὲ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὀνομάτων φθέγγονται μετὰ βοῆς, οἷον Μάρκου, Λουκίου, Γαΐου, μιμούμενοι τὴν τότε τροπὴν καὶ ἀνάκλησιν ἀλλήλων μετὰ δέους καὶ ταραχῆς.

3 Ἔνιοι μέντοι τὸ μίμημα τοῦτό φασι μὴ φυγῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπείξεως εἶναι καὶ σπουδῆς, εἰς αἰτίαν τοιαύτην ἀναφέροντες τὸν λόγον. ἐπεὶ Κελτοὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καταλαβόντες ἐξεκρούσθησαν ὑπὸ Καμίλλου καὶ δι' ἀσθένειαν ἡ πόλις οὐκέτι ῥᾳδίως ἑαυτὴν ἀνελάμβανεν, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτὴν πολλοὶ τῶν Λατίνων, ἄρχοντα Λίβιον Ποστούμιον ἔχοντες. οὗτος δὲ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ῥώμης ἔπεμπε κήρυκα, βούλεσθαι λέγων τοὺς Λατίνους ἐκλιποῦσαν ἤδη τὴν παλαιὰν οἰκειότητα καὶ συγγένειαν ἐκζωπυρῆσαι, καιναῖς αὖθις ἀνακραθέντων ἐπιγαμίαις τῶν
4 γενῶν. ἂν οὖν πέμψωσι παρθένους τε συχνὰς καὶ γυναικῶν τὰς ἀνάνδρους, εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι καὶ φιλίαν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ὑπῆρξε πρὸς Σαβίνους πρότερον ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τόν τε πόλεμον ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν γυναικῶν οὐδὲν αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπιεικέστερον ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον. ἀπορουσι δ' αὐτοῖς θεράπαινα Φιλωτίς, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, Τουτόλα καλουμένη, συνεβούλευσε μηδέτερα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρησαμένους δόλῳ διαφυγεῖν ἅμα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν
5 ἐξομήρευσιν. ἦν δ' ὁ δόλος αὐτήν τε τὴν Φιλωτίδα καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ θεραπαινίδας εὐπρεπεῖς κοσμήσαντας ὡς ἐλευθέρας ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους· εἶτα νύκτωρ τὴν Φιλωτίδα πυρσὸν

sacrifice at the Goat's Marsh; and "capra" is their word for *she-goat*. And as they go forth to the sacrifice, they shout out many local names, like Marcus, Lucius, and Caius, in imitation of the way in which, on the day when Romulus disappeared, they called upon one another in fear and confusion.

Some, however, say that this imitation is not one of flight, but of haste and eagerness, and explain it as referring to the following occasion. After the Gauls had captured Rome and been driven out by Camillus, and when the city was still too weak to recover itself readily, an expedition was made against it by many of the Latins, under the command of Livius Postumius. This general stationed his army not far from Rome, and sent a herald with the message that the Latins wished to renew their ancient relationship and affinity with the Romans, by fresh intermarriages between the two peoples. If, therefore, the Romans would send them a goodly number of virgins and their widows, they should have peace and friendship, such as they had formerly made with the Sabines on the like terms. On hearing this message, the Romans hesitated between going to war, which they feared, and the surrender of their women, which they thought no more desirable than to have them captured. But while they were in this perplexity, a serving-maid called Philotis (or, as some say, Tutola) advised them to do neither, but by the use of a stratagem to escape alike the war and the giving of hostages. Now the stratagem was this, that they should send to the enemy Philotis herself, and with her other comely serving-maids arrayed like free-born women; then in the night Philotis was to display a signal-fire, at which the

ἆραι, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐπελθεῖν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ χρήσασθαι κοιμωμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις. ταῦτα δ' ἐδρᾶτο πεισθέντων τῶν Λατίνων· καὶ τὸν πυρσὸν ἀνέσχεν ἡ Φιλωτὶς ἔκ τινος ἐρινεοῦ, περισχοῦσα προκαλύμμασι καὶ παραπετάσμασιν ὄπισθεν, ὥστε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀόρατον εἶναι τὸ φῶς, τοῖς δὲ
6 Ῥωμαίοις κατάδηλον. ὡς οὖν ἐπεῖδον, εὐθὺς ἐξῆεσαν ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔπειξιν ἀλλήλους περὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνακαλοῦντες πολλάκις. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπροσδοκήτως καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἐπινίκιον ἄγουσι τὴν ἑορτήν. καὶ Καπρατῖναι μὲν αἱ νῶναι καλοῦνται διὰ τὸν ἐρινεὸν καπρίφικον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενον, ἑστιῶσι δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔξω, συκῆς κλάδοις σκιαζομένας. αἱ δὲ θεραπαινίδες ἀγείρουσι περιϊοῦσαι καὶ παίζουσιν, εἶτα πληγαῖς καὶ βολαῖς λίθων χρῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὡς καὶ τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παραγενόμεναι καὶ συναγωνισάμεναι μαχομένοις.
7 Ταῦτ' οὖν[1] πολλοὶ προσίενται τῶν συγγραφέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν χρῆσθαι τῇ ἀνακλήσει τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἔλος τὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ὡς ἐπὶ θυσίαν[2] βαδίζοντας ἔοικε τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ προστίθεσθαι μᾶλλον, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐν χρόνοις ἑτέροις ἀμφότερα τὰ πάθη συνέτυχε γενέσθαι. λέγεται δὲ Ῥωμύλος τέσσαρα μὲν ἔτη καὶ πεντήκοντα γεγονώς, ὄγδοον δὲ βασιλεύων ἐκεῖνο καὶ τριακοστὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι.

[1] οὖν with Cobet : οὐ (*by few*).
[2] θυσίαν with Coraës (as in xxix. 2) : θάλατταν (*sea*).

Romans were to come in arms and deal with their enemies while asleep. This was done, with the approval of the Latins, and Philotis displayed the signal-fire from a certain wild fig-tree, screening it behind with coverlets and draperies, so that its light was unseen by the enemy, but visible to the Romans. When, accordingly, they beheld it, they sallied forth at once in great haste, and because of their haste calling upon one another many times at the gates. They fell upon their enemies when they least expected it and mastered them, and now celebrate this festival in memory of their victory. And the Nones on which it falls are called Capratine from the *wild fig-tree*, the Roman name for which is "caprificus," and they feast the women outside the city in booths made of fig-tree boughs. Then the serving-maids run about in companies and play, after which they strike and throw stones at one another, in token that on that earlier day they assisted the Romans and shared with them in their battle.[1]

These details are accepted by many historians, but their calling out one another's names in the day time, and their marching out to the Goat's Marsh as for sacrifice, seem to be more consonant with the former story, unless, to be sure, both actions happened to take place on the same day in different periods. Romulus is said to have been fifty-four years of age, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign when he disappeared from among men.

[1] Cf. *Camillus*, xxxiii.

ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΥΛΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης πυθέσθαι περὶ Ῥωμύλου καὶ Θησέως συμβέβηκεν ἡμῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστί. φαίνεται δὲ πρῶτον ὁ μὲν ἐκ προαιρέσεως, οὐδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, ἀλλ' ἐξὸν ἀδεῶς ἐν Τροιζῆνι βασιλεύειν διαδεξάμενον ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἄδοξον, αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μεγάλων ὀρεχθείς· ὁ δὲ δουλείας φυγῇ παρούσης καὶ τιμωρίας ἐπιφερομένης, ἐκεῖνο τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἀτεχνῶς ὑπὸ δέους ἀνδρεῖος γενόμενος, καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶν μεγάλα δι' ἀνάγκην παραγενό-
2 μενος. ἔπειτα τούτου μὲν ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀνελεῖν ἕνα τὸν Ἄλβης τύραννον, ἐκείνου δὲ πάρεργα καὶ προάγωνες ἦσαν ὁ Σκείρων, ὁ Σίνις, ὁ Προκρούστης, ὁ Κορυνήτης, οὓς ἀναιρῶν καὶ κολάζων ἀπήλαττε τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινῶν τυράννων πρὶν ὅστις ἐστὶ γινώσκειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωζομένους. καὶ τῷ μὲν παρῆν ἀπραγμόνως κομίζεσθαι διὰ θαλάττης ἀδικουμένῳ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν, Ῥωμύλῳ δ' οὐ παρῆν μὴ πράγματα
3 ἔχειν Ἀμουλίου ζῶντος. μέγα δὲ τούτου τεκμήριον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἀδικούμενος ὥρμησεν ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηρούς, οἱ δ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ κακῶς οὐκ ἔπασχον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, περιεώρων ἀδικοῦντα πάντας. καὶ μὴν εἰ μέγα τὸ τρωθῆναι

COMPARISON OF THESEUS AND ROMULUS

I. Such, then, are the memorable things about Romulus and Theseus which I have been able to learn. And it appears, first of all, that Theseus, of his own choice, when no one compelled him, but when it was possible for him to reign without fear at Troezen as heir to no inglorious realm, of his own accord reached out after great achievements; whereas Romulus, to escape present servitude and impending punishment, became simply "courageous out of fear," as Plato phrases it,[1] and through the dread of extreme penalties proceeded to perform great exploits under compulsion. In the second place, the chief deed of Romulus was the slaying of a single tyrant of Alba; whereas for mere by-adventures and preliminary struggles Theseus had Sciron, Sinis, Procrustes, and Corynetes, by slaying and chastising whom he freed Greece from dreadful tyrants before those who were saved by him knew who he was. Theseus might have travelled to Athens by sea without any trouble, and suffering no outrage at the hands of those robbers; whereas Romulus could not be without trouble while Amulius lived. And there is strong proof of this; for Theseus, although he had suffered no wrong at their hands himself, sallied out in behalf of others against those miscreants; while Romulus and Remus, as long as they themselves were not harmed by the tyrant, suffered him to wrong everybody else. And surely, if it was a great thing for Romulus

[1] *Phaedo*, p. 68 d.

μαχόμενον Σαβίνοις καὶ ἀνελεῖν Ακρωνα καὶ πολλῶν μάχῃ κρατῆσαι πολεμίων, τούτοις μὲν ἔστι τοῖς ἔργοις κενταυρομαχίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς
4 Ἀμαζόνας παραβαλεῖν· ὃ δ' ἐτόλμησε[1] Θησεὺς περὶ τὸν Κρητικὸν δασμόν, εἴτε τινὶ θηρίῳ βοράν, εἴτε πρόσφαγμα τοῖς Ἀνδρόγεω τάφοις, εἴθ', ὃ κουφότατόν ἐστι τῶν λεγομένων, λατρεύειν παρ' ἀνδράσιν ὑβρισταῖς καὶ δυσμενέσιν ἀκλεῆ λατρείαν καὶ ἄτιμον ἐπιδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ἑκουσίως μετὰ παρθένων πλεύσας καὶ παίδων νέων, οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις ἡλίκης ἐστὶ τόλμης ἢ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἢ δικαιοσύνης περὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἢ πόθου δόξης καὶ
5 ἀρετῆς. ὥστ' ἔμοιγέ φαίνεται μὴ κακῶς ὁρίζεσθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους τὸν ἔρωτα θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν νέων. ὁ γὰρ Ἀριάδνης ἔρως παντὸς μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἔργον θεοῦ καὶ μηχανὴ γενέσθαι σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνδρός. καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν ἐρασθεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζειν εἰ μὴ πάντες οὕτω καὶ πᾶσαι διετέθησαν· εἰ δ' ἐκείνη μόνη τοῦτ' ἔπαθεν, εἰκότως ἔγωγε φαίην ἂν αὐτὴν ἀξιέραστον θεῷ γεγονέναι, φιλόκαλον καὶ φιλάγαθον καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐρωτικὴν οὖσαν.

II. Ἀμφοτέρων τοίνυν τῇ φύσει πολιτικῶν γεγονότων, οὐδέτερος διεφύλαξε τὸν βασιλικὸν τρόπον· ἐξέστη δὲ καὶ μετέβαλε μεταβολὴν ὁ μὲν δημοτικήν, ὁ δὲ τυραννικήν, ταὐτὸν ἀπ'

[1] ὃ δ' ἐτόλμησε Coraës and Sintenis would begin the second chapter here.

to be wounded in a battle with the Sabines, and to slay Acron, and to conquer many enemies in battle, with these exploits we may compare, on the part of Theseus, his battle with the Centaurs and his campaign against the Amazons; but as for the daring which he showed about the Cretan tribute, whether that was food for some monster, or a sacrifice on the tomb of Androgeos, or whether—and this is the mildest form of the story—he offered himself for inglorious and dishonourable servitude among insolent and cruel men when he volunteered to sail away with maidens and young boys, words cannot depict such courage, magnanimity, righteous zeal for the common good, or yearning for glory and virtue. It is therefore my opinion that the philosophers[1] give an excellent definition of love when they call it "a ministration of the gods for the care and preservation of the young." For Ariadne's love seems to have been, more than anything else, a god's work, and a device whereby Theseus should be saved. And we should not blame her for loving him, but rather wonder that all men and women were not thus affected towards him; and if she alone felt this passion, I should say, for my part, that she was properly worthy of a god's love, since she was fond of virtue, fond of goodness, and a lover of the highest qualities in man.

II. Although Theseus and Romulus were both statesmen by nature, neither maintained to the end the true character of a king, but both deviated from it and underwent a change, the former in the direction of democracy, the latter in the direction of tyranny, making thus the same mistake through opposite

[1] Polemon, as cited in *Morals*, p. 780 d.

ἐναντίων παθῶν ἁμαρτόντες. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄρχοντα σώζειν πρῶτον αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν· σώζεται δ' οὐχ ἧττον ἀπεχομένη τοῦ μὴ προσήκοντος ἢ
2 περιεχομένη τοῦ προσήκοντος. ὁ δ' ἐνδιδοὺς ἢ ἐπιτείνων οὐ μένει βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἄρχων, ἀλλ' ἢ δημαγωγὸς ἢ δεσπότης γιγνόμενος, ἐμποιεῖ τὸ μισεῖν ἢ καταφρονεῖν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐπιεικείας δοκεῖ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας εἶναι, τοῦτο δὲ φιλαυτίας ἁμάρτημα καὶ χαλεπότητος.

III. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰ δυστυχηθέντα μὴ παντάπασι ποιεῖσθαι δαίμονος, ἀλλ' ἠθικὰς καὶ παθητικὰς ζητεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφοράς, θυμοῦ μὲν ἀλογίστου καὶ τάχος ἐχούσης ἄβουλον ὀργῆς μήτε τις ἐκεῖνον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπολυέτω μήτε τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν· ἡ δὲ κινήσασα τὸν θυμὸν ἀρχὴ μᾶλλον παραιτεῖται τὸν ὑπὸ μείζονος αἰτίας ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πληγῆς χαλεπωτέρας
2 ἀνατραπέντα. Ῥωμύλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ βουλῆς καὶ σκέψεως περὶ κοινῶν συμφερόντων διαφορᾶς γενομένης οὐκ ἂν ἠξίωσέ τις ἄφνω τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν τηλικούτῳ πάθει γενέσθαι· Θησέα δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἃ πάμπαν ὀλίγοι τῶν ὄντων διαπεφεύγασιν, ἔρως καὶ ζηλοτυπία καὶ διαβολαὶ γυναικὸς ἔσφηλαν. ὃ δὲ μεῖζόν ἐστιν, ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλου θυμὸς εἰς ἔργον ἐξέπεσε καὶ πρᾶξιν οὐκ εὐτυχὲς ἔχουσαν τέλος, ἡ δὲ Θησέως ὀργὴ μέχρι λόγου καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ κατάρας πρεσβυτικῆς προῆλθε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα φαίνεται τῇ τύχῃ χρήσασθαι τὸ μειράκιον. ὥστε ταύτας μὲν ἄν τις ἀποδοίη τῷ Θησεῖ τὰς ψήφους.

affections. For the ruler must preserve first of all the realm itself, and this is preserved no less by refraining from what is unbecoming than by cleaving to what is becoming. But he who remits or extends his authority is no longer a king or a ruler; he becomes either a demagogue or a despot, and implants hatred or contempt in the hearts of his subjects. However, the first error seems to arise from kindliness and humanity; the second from selfishness and severity.

III. Again, if the misfortunes of men are not to be attributed altogether to fortune, but to the different habits and passions which will be found underlying them, then no one shall acquit Romulus of unreasoning anger or hasty and senseless wrath in dealing with his brother, nor Theseus in dealing with his son, although the cause which stirred his anger leads us to be more lenient towards the one who was overthrown by a stronger provocation, as by a heavier blow. For since the difference between Romulus and his brother arose from a deliberate investigation of the common welfare, there could have been no good reason for his flying into such a passion; while Theseus was impelled to wrong his son by love, jealousy, and a woman's slanders, the overmastering power of which very few men have escaped. And what is of greater weight, the anger of Romulus vented itself in action and a deed of most unfortunate issue; whereas the wrath of Theseus got no farther than words of abuse and an old man's curse, and the rest of the youth's calamities seem to have been due to fortune. On these counts, therefore, one would give his vote of preference to Theseus.

IV. Ἐκείνῳ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπάρχει μέγα τὸ μικροτάτας λαβεῖν ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα. δοῦλοι γὰρ δὴ καὶ συφορβῶν παῖδες ὀνομαζόμενοι, πρὶν ἐλεύθεροι γενέσθαι, πάντας ὀλίγου δεῖν ἠλευθέρωσαν Λατίνους, ἐνὶ χρόνῳ τῶν καλλίστων ὀνομάτων ἅμα τυχόντες, φονεῖς ἐχθρῶν καὶ σωτῆρες οἰκείων καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐθνῶν καὶ οἰκισταὶ πόλεων, οὐ μετοικισταί, καθάπερ ἦν ὁ Θησεύς, ἐκ πολλῶν συντιθεὶς καὶ συνοικοδομῶν ἓν οἰκητήριον, ἀναιρῶν δὲ πολλὰς πόλεις
2 ἐπωνύμους βασιλέων καὶ ἡρώων παλαιῶν. Ῥωμύλος δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἔδρα, τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναγκάζων τὰ οἰκεῖα καταβάλλοντας καὶ ἀφανίζοντας τοῖς νενικηκόσι προσνέμεσθαι· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον οὐ μετατιθεὶς οὐδ' αὔξων τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν, ἀλλὰ ποιῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ κτώμενος ἑαυτῷ χώραν ὁμοῦ, πατρίδα, βασιλείαν, γένη, γάμους, οἰκειότητας, ἀνῄρει μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἀπώλλυεν, εὐεργέτει δὲ τοὺς ἐξ ἀοίκων καὶ ἀνεστίων δῆμον ἐθέλοντας εἶναι καὶ πολίτας. λῃστὰς δὲ καὶ κακούργους οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' ἔθνη προσηγάγετο πολέμῳ καὶ πόλεις κατεστρέψατο καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐθριάμβευσε καὶ ἡγεμόνας.

V. Καὶ τὸ μὲν Ῥώμου πάθος ἀμφισβητούμενον ἔχει τὸν αὐτόχειρα, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς ἑτέρους τῆς αἰτίας τρέπουσι· τὴν δὲ μητέρα διολλυμένην ἔσωσε περιφανῶς, καὶ τὸν πάππον ἀκλεῶς δουλεύοντα καὶ ἀτίμως εἰς τὸν Αἰνείου θρόνον ἐκάθισε. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἑκὼν εὐεργέ-
2 τησεν, ἔβλαψε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἄκων. τὴν δὲ

IV. But Romulus has, in the first place, this great superiority, that he rose to eminence from the smallest beginnings. For he and his brother were reputed to be slaves and sons of swineherds, and yet they not only made themselves free, but freed first almost all the Latins, enjoying at one and the same time such most honourable titles as slayers of their foes, saviours of their kindred and friends, kings of races and peoples, founders of cities; not transplanters, as Theseus was, who put together and consolidated one dwelling-place out of many, but demolished many cities bearing the names of ancient kings and heroes. Romulus, it is true, did this later, compelling his enemies to tear down and obliterate their dwellings and enrol themselves among their conquerors; but at first, not by removing or enlarging a city which already existed, but by creating one from nothing, and by acquiring for himself at once territory, country, kingdom, clans, marriages and relationships, he ruined no one and killed no one, but was a benefactor of men without homes and hearths, who wished instead to be a people and citizens of a common city. Robbers and miscreants, it is true, he did not slay, but he subdued nations in war, laid cities low, and triumphed over kings and commanders.

V. Besides, there is dispute as to who actually slew Remus, and most of the blame for the deed is put upon others than Romulus; but Romulus did unquestionably save his mother from destruction, and he set his grandfather, who was living in inglorious and dishonourable subjection, upon the throne of Aeneas. Moreover, he did him many favours of his own accord, and did him no harm, not even inadver-

Θησέως λήθην καὶ ἀμέλειαν τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱστίον ἐντολῆς μόλις ἂν οἶμαι μακρᾷ τινι παραιτήσει καὶ ἐν ῥᾳθύμοις δικασταῖς αἰτίαν ἀποφυγεῖν πατροκτονίας· ὃ δὴ καὶ συνιδών τις Ἀττικὸς ἀνὴρ ὡς παγχάλεπόν ἐστι βουλομένοις ἀπολογεῖσθαι, πλάττει τὸν Αἰγέα τῆς νεὼς προσφερομένης ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνατρέχοντα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θέας ἕνεκα καὶ σφαλλόμενον καταπεσεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀπαδῶν ἔρημον, ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὁδὸν σπεύδοντι μὴ παρούσης τινὸς θεραπείας.

VI. Καὶ μὴν τὰ περὶ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἡμαρτημένα Θησεῖ μὲν εὐσχήμονος ἐνδεᾶ προφάσεως γέγονε. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πολλάκις· ἥρπασε γὰρ Ἀριάδνην καὶ Ἀντιόπην καὶ Ἀναξὼ τὴν Τροιζηνίαν, ἐπὶ πάσαις δὲ τὴν Ἑλένην, παρηκμακὼς οὐκ ἀκμάζουσαν, ἀλλὰ νηπίαν καὶ ἄωρον αὐτὸς ὥραν ἔχων ἤδη γάμων πεπαῦσθαι καὶ νομίμων· ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀξιώτεραί γε παιδοποιοὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρεχθηίδων καὶ Κεκροπίδων αἱ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Λακώνων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων ἀνέγγυοι θυγατέρες
2 ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποψίαν ἔχει πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ καθ' ἡδονὴν πεπρᾶχθαι. Ῥωμύλος δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὀκτακοσίων ὀλίγον ἀριθμῷ δεούσας 3
ἁρπάσας, οὐ πάσας, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ὥς φασιν, Ἐρσιλίαν ἔλαβε, τὰς δ' ἄλλας διένειμε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς[1] τῶν πολιτῶν· ἔπειτα τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμῇ καὶ ἀγαπήσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τῇ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπέδειξε τὴν βίαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν

[1] ἀγαθοῖς MSS. and edd. : ἀγάμοις (*unmarried*).

tently. Theseus, on the contrary, for his forgetfulness and neglect of the command about the sail, can hardly, I think, escape the charge of parricide, be the plea of his advocate ever so long and his judges ever so lenient. Indeed, a certain Attic writer, conscious that would-be defenders of Theseus have a difficult task, feigns that Aegeus, on the approach of the ship, ran up to the acropolis in his eagerness to catch sight of her, and stumbled and fell down the cliff; as though he were without a retinue, or was hurrying down to the sea without any servants.

VI. Furthermore, the transgressions of Theseus in his rapes of women admit of no plausible excuse. This is true, first, because there were so many; for he carried off Ariadne, Antiope, Anaxo of Troezen, and at last Helen, when he was past his prime and she had not reached her prime, but was an unripe child, while he was already of an age too great for even lawful wedlock. It is true, secondly, because of the reason for them; for the daughters of Troezenians and Laconians and Amazons were not betrothed to him, and were no worthier, surely, to be the mothers of his children than the daughters of Erechtheus and Cecrops at Athens. But one may suspect that these deeds of his were done in lustful wantonness. Romulus, on the other hand, in the first place, although he carried off nearly eight hundred women, took them not all to wife, but only one, as they say, Hersilia, and distributed the rest among the best of the citizens. And in the second place, by the subsequent honour, love, and righteous treatment given to these women, he made it clear that his

ἀδικίαν κάλλιστον ἔργον καὶ πολιτικώτατον εἰς
3 κοινωνίαν γενομένην. οὕτω συνέμιξεν ἀλλήλοις
καὶ συνέπηξε τὰ γένη, καὶ παρέσχε πηγὴν τῆς
εἰς αὖθις εὐνοίας καὶ δυνάμεως τοῖς πράγμασιν.
αἰδοῦς δὲ καὶ φιλίας καὶ βεβαιότητος, ἣν εἰργά-
σατο περὶ τοὺς γάμους, ὁ χρόνος ἐστὶ μάρτυς.
ἐν γὰρ ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις οὔτε ἀνὴρ
ἐτόλμησε γυναικὸς οὔτε γυνὴ κοινωνίαν ἀνδρὸς
ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν Ἕλλησιν οἱ σφόδρα
περιττοὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν πατροκτόνον
ἢ μητροφόνον, οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ἴσασιν ὅτι
Καρβίλιος Σπόριος ἀπεπέμψατο γυναῖκα πρῶ-
4 τος, ἀπαιδίαν αἰτιασάμενος. τῷ δὲ τοσούτῳ
χρόνῳ συμμαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἔργα. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχῆς
ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ πολιτείας τὰ γένη
διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν ἐκείνην· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Θησέως γά-
μων Ἀθηναίοις φιλικὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ κοινωνικὸν
ὑπῆρξε πρὸς οὐδένα συμβόλαιον, ἔχθραι δὲ καὶ
πόλεμοι καὶ φόνοι πολιτῶν καὶ τέλος Ἀφίδνας
ἀπολέσαι καὶ μόλις ὑπ' οἴκτου τῶν πολεμίων,
προσκυνήσαντας καὶ θεοὺς ἀνειπόντας, μὴ πα-
5 θεῖν ἃ Τρῶες ἔπαθον δι' Ἀλέξανδρον. ἡ μέντοι
μήτηρ ἡ Θησέως οὐκ ἐκινδύνευσεν, ἀλλ' ἔπαθε
τὰ τῆς Ἑκάβης, ἐγκαταλιπόντος καὶ προεμένου
τοῦ παιδός, εἴγε μὴ πέπλασται τὰ τῆς αἰχμα-
λωσίας, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτο ψεῦδος εἶναι καὶ
τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ
θείου μυθολογούμενα πολλὴν ποιεῖ διαφοράν.

deed of violence and injustice was a most honourable achievement, and one most adapted to promote political partnership. In this way he intermixed and blended the two peoples with one another, and supplied his state with a flowing fountain of strength and good will for the time to come. And to the modesty, tenderness, and stability which he imparted to the marriage relation, time is witness. For in two hundred and thirty years no man ventured to leave his wife, nor any woman her husband; but, just as the very curious among the Greeks can name the first parricide or matricide, so the Romans all know that Spurius Carvilius was the first to put away his wife, accusing her of barrenness. And the immediate results of his act, as well as the long lapse of time, witness in favour of Romulus. For the two kings shared the government in common, and the two peoples the rights and duties of citizenship, because of that intermarriage; whereas from the marriages of Theseus the Athenians got no new friends at all, nor even any community of enterprise whatsoever, but enmities, wars, slaughters of citizens, and at last the loss of Aphidnae, and an escape from the fate which Troy suffered by reason of Alexander, only because their enemies took compassion on them when they called upon them worshipfully as gods. However, the mother of Theseus was not only in danger, but actually suffered the fate of Hecuba when she was deserted and abandoned by her son, unless, indeed, the tale of her captivity is fictitious, and it may well be false, as well as most of the other stories. For example, the tales told of divine intervention in their lives are in great contrast; for Romulus was

Ῥωμύλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἡ σωτηρία μετὰ πολλῆς ὑπῆρξε θεῶν εὐμενείας, ὁ δ' Αἰγεῖ δοθεὶς χρησμός, ἀπέχεσθαι γυναικὸς ἐπὶ ξένης, ἔοικεν ἀποφαίνειν παρὰ γνώμην θεῶν γεγονέναι τὴν Θησέως τέκνωσιν.

preserved by the signal favour of the gods, while the oracle given to Aegeus, forbidding him to approach a woman while in a foreign land, seems to indicate that the birth of Theseus was not agreeable to the will of the gods.

LYCURGUS

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ

1. Περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβήτητον, οὗ γε καὶ γένος καὶ ἀποδημία καὶ τελευτὴ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασιν ἡ περὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγματεία διαφόρους ἔσχηκεν ἱστορίας, ἥκιστα δὲ οἱ χρόνοι καθ' οὓς γέγονεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁμολογοῦνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰφίτῳ συνακμάσαι καὶ συνδιαθεῖναι τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν ἐκεχειρίαν λέγουσιν αὐτόν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, τεκμήριον προσφέρων τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι δίσκον ἐν ᾧ τοὔνομα
2 τοῦ Λυκούργου διασώζεται καταγεγραμμένον· οἱ δὲ ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βεβασιλευκότων ἀναλεγόμενοι τὸν χρόνον, ὥσπερ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερον ἀποφαίνουσι τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Τίμαιος δὲ ὑπονοεῖ, δυεῖν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γεγονότων Λυκούργων οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὰς ἀμφοῖν πράξεις διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀνακεῖσθαι· καὶ τόν γε πρεσβύτερον οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ὁμήρου γεγονέναι χρόνων, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατ' ὄψιν ἐντυχεῖν Ὁμήρῳ.

LYCURGUS

I. Concerning Lycurgus the lawgiver, in general, nothing can be said which is not disputed, since indeed there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and above all, of his work as lawmaker and statesman; and there is least agreement among historians as to the times in which the man lived. Some say that he flourished at the same time with Iphitus, and in concert with him established the Olympic truce. Among these is Aristotle the philosopher, and he alleges as proof the discus at Olympia on which an inscription preserves the name of Lycurgus.[1] But those who compute the time by the successions of kings at Sparta, like Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, prove that Lycurgus was many years earlier than the first Olympiad.[2] And Timaeus conjectures that there were two Lycurgus at Sparta, at different times, and that to one of them the achievements of both were ascribed, owing to his greater fame; he thinks also that the elder of the two lived not far from the times of Homer, and some assert that he actually met Homer face to face.

[1] As joining with Iphitus in founding, or reviving, the Olympic games, in 776 B.C., the date assigned to the first recorded victory. Cf. Pausanias, v. 4, 5 f.; 20, 1. A stay of hostilities was observed all over Greece during the festival.

[2] 776–73 B.C.

3 δίδωσι δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὑπόνοιαν ἀρχαιότητος ἐν οἷς τὸν ἄνδρα λέγει γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας. γένει μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖδαι δήπουθεν ἦσαν καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλέων, ὁ δὲ ἔοικε βουλομένῳ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκείνους καὶ σύνεγγυς Ἡρακλέους ὀνομάζειν Ἡρακλείδας. 40

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως πεπλανημένης τῆς ἱστορίας, πειρασόμεθα τοῖς βραχυτάτας ἔχουσιν ἀντιλογίας ἢ γνωριμωτάτους μάρτυρας ἑπόμενοι τῶν γεγραμμένων περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδοῦναι τὴν
4 διήγησιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ[1] Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς οὐκ Εὐνόμου λέγει τὸν Λυκοῦργον πατρός, ἀλλὰ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τὸν Εὔνομον, οἱ δὲ[2] πλεῖστοι σχεδὸν οὐχ οὕτω γενεαλογοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ Προκλέους μὲν τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου γενέσθαι Σόον, Σόου δὲ Εὐρυπῶντα, τούτου δὲ Πρύτανιν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ Εὔνομον, Εὐνόμου δὲ Πολυδέκτην ἐκ προτέρας γυναικός, Λυκοῦργον δὲ νεώτερον ἐκ Διωνάσσης, ὡς Διευτυχίδας ἱστόρηκεν, ἕκτον μὲν ἀπὸ Προκλέους, ἐνδέκατον δὲ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους.

II. Τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα μὲν ἐθαυμάσθη Σόος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τοὺς εἵλωτας ἐποιήσαντο δούλους οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται καὶ χώραν προσεκτήσαντο πολλὴν Ἀρκάδων ἀποτεμόμενοι. λέγεται δὲ τὸν

[1] ἐπεὶ καὶ Sintenis would begin the second chapter here, assuming also a lacuna in the text preceding.
[2] οἱ δὲ with Bekker: οἱ.

Xenophon, also,[1] makes an impression of simplicity in the passage where he says that Lycurgus lived in the time of the Heracleidae. For in lineage, of course, the latest of the Spartan kings were also Heracleidae; but Xenophon apparently wishes to use the name Heracleidae of the first and more immediate descendants of Heracles, so famous in story.

However, although the history of these times is such a maze, I shall try, in presenting my narrative, to follow those authors who are least contradicted, or who have the most notable witnesses for what they have written about the man. For instance, Simonides the poet says that Lycurgus was not the son of Eunomus, but that both Lycurgus and Eunomus were sons of Prytanis; whereas most writers give a different genealogy, as follows: Aristodemus begat Procles, Procles begat Soüs, Soüs begat Eurypon, and he begat Prytanis, from whom sprang Eunomus, and from Eunomus Polydectes by a first wife, and Lycurgus, who was a younger son by a second wife, Dionassa, as Dieutychidas has written, making Lycurgus sixth from Procles, and eleventh from Heracles.[2]

II. Of these ancestors of Lycurgus, Soüs was most famous, under whom the Spartans made the Helots their slaves, and acquired by conquest from the Arcadians a large additional tract of land. It is also

[1] *Resp. Lac.* x. 8. "Lycurgus is said to have lived in the times of the Heracleidae."

[2] Aristodemus, from whose twin sons Eurysthenes and Procles the elder and younger royal lines at Sparta (the Agids and Eurypontids) were descended, was the son of Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeus, the son of Hyllus, the son of Heracles. See Pausanias, iii. 1-10; Herodotus, vii. 204 and viii. 131.

Σόον ἐν χωρίῳ χαλεπῷ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ Κλειτορίων, ὁμολογῆσαι τὴν δορίκτητον γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀφήσειν, εἰ πίοι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' 2 αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς πλησίον πηγῆς. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὁρκίων[1] συναγαγόντα τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ διδόναι τῷ μὴ πιόντι τὴν βασιλείαν· οὐδενὸς δὲ καρτερήσαντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων πιόντων, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι καταβάντα καὶ περιρρανάμενον ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων παρόντων ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν, ὡς μὴ πάντων πιόντων.

Ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπὶ τούτοις θαυμάζοντες αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευσαν Εὐρυπωντίδας, ὅτι δοκεῖ πρῶτος Εὐρυπῶν τὸ ἄγαν μοναρχικὸν ἀνεῖναι τῆς βασιλείας, δημαγωγῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς πολ- 3 λοῖς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνέσεως τοῦ μὲν δήμου θρασυνομένου, τῶν δ' ὕστερον βασιλέων τὰ μὲν ἀπεχθανομένων τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς πολλούς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς χάριν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὑποφερομένων, ἀνομία καὶ ἀταξία κατέσχε τὴν Σπάρτην ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον· ὑφ' ἧς καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Λυκούργου βασιλεύοντα συνέβη τελευτῆσαι. διερύκων γὰρ ἀψιμαχίαν τινά, μαγειρικῇ κοπίδι πληγεὶς ἀπέθανε, τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ παιδὶ Πολυδέκτῃ καταλιπὼν τὴν βασιλείαν.

III. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ τούτου μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔδει βασιλεύειν, ὡς πάντες ᾠοντο, τὸν Λυκοῦργον· καὶ πρίν γε τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φανερὰν γενέσθαι κύουσαν ἐβασίλευεν. ἐπεὶ

[1] ὁρκίων with Bekker and Cobet: ὁρκίων ὁμολογιῶν.

related of this Soüs that when he was besieged by the Cleitorians in a rough and waterless place, he agreed to surrender to them the land which he had conquered if he himself and all his men with him should drink from the adjacent spring. After the oaths to this agreement were taken, he assembled his men and offered his kingdom to the one who should not drink; no one of them, however, could forbear, but all of them drank, whereupon Soüs himself went down last of all to the water, sprinkled his face merely, while the enemy were still at hand to see, and then marched away and retained his territory, on the plea that all had not drunk.

But although on these grounds he was held in great admiration, his royal line was not named from him, but were called Eurypontids from his son, because Eurypon appears to have been the first king to relax the excessive absolutism of his sway, seeking favour and popularity with the multitude. But in consequence of such relaxation the people grew bold, and succeeding kings were some of them hated for trying to force their way with the multitude, and some were brought low by their desire for favour or through weakness, so that lawlessness and confusion prevailed at Sparta for a long time; and it was owing to this that the father of Lycurgus, a reigning king, lost his life. For as he was trying to separate some rioters, he was stabbed to death with a butcher's knife, leaving the kingdom to his elder son, Polydectes.

III. Polydectes also died soon afterwards, and then, as was generally thought, the kingdom devolved upon Lycurgus; and until his brother's wife was known to be with child, he was king. But as soon

δὲ τοῦτο τάχιστα ᾔσθετο, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν ἀπέφηνε τοῦ παιδὸς οὖσαν, ἄνπερ ἄρρην γένηται, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ὡς ἐπίτροπος διεῖπε. τοὺς δὲ τῶν ὀρφανῶν βασιλέων ἐπιτρόπους Λακεδαι-
2 μόνιοι προδίκους[1] ὠνόμαζον. ὡς δὲ ἡ γυνὴ προσέπεμπε κρύφα καὶ λόγους ἐποιεῖτο, βουλομένη διαφθεῖραι τὸ βρέφος ἐπὶ τῷ συνοικεῖν ἐκείνῳ βασιλεύοντι τῆς Σπάρτης, τὸ μὲν ἦθος αὐτῆς ἐμίσησε, πρὸς δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλ' ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δέχεσθαι προσποιούμενος, οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν ἀμβλίσκουσαν αὐτὴν καὶ φαρμακευομένην διαλυμαίνεσθαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ κινδυνεύειν· αὐτῷ γὰρ μελήσειν ὅπως εὐθὺς ἐκ-
3 ποδὼν ἔσται τὸ γεννηθέν. οὕτω δὲ παραγαγὼν ἄχρι τοῦ τόκου τὴν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ᾔσθετο τίκτουσαν, εἰσέπεμψε παρέδρους ταῖς ὠδῖσιν αὐτῆς καὶ φύλακας, οἷς ἦν προστεταγμένον, ἐὰν μὲν θῆλυ τεχθῇ, παραδοῦναι ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἐὰν δὲ ἄρρεν, κομίσαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅ τι ἂν τύχῃ πράττων. ἔτυχε δὲ δειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀποκυηθὲν ἄρρεν· καὶ παρῆσαν οἱ ὑπη-
4 ρέται τὸ παιδάριον αὐτῷ κομίζοντες. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπών, "Βασιλεὺς ὑμῖν γέγονεν, ὦ Σπαρτιᾶται," κατέκλινεν ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ χώρᾳ καὶ Χαρίλαον ὠνόμασε διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας εἶναι περιχαρεῖς, ἀγαμένους αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ μῆνας ὀκτὼ τὸ σύμπαν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τἆλλα περίβλεπτος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ πλείο-

[1] προδίκους with most MSS. and edd. : προδίκως with A (corrected), the Doric form.

as he learned of this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her offspring, if it should be male, and himself administered the government only as guardian. Now the guardians of fatherless kings are called "prodikoi" by the Lacedaemonians. Presently, however, the woman made secret overtures to him, proposing to destroy her unborn babe on condition that he would marry her when he was a king of Sparta; and although he detested her character, he did not reject her proposition, but pretended to approve and accept it. He told her, however, that she need not use drugs to produce a miscarriage, thereby injuring her health and endangering her life, for he would see to it himself that as soon as her child was born it should be put out of the way. In this manner he managed to bring the woman to her full time, and when he learned that she was in labour, he sent attendants and watchers for her delivery, with orders, if a girl should be born, to hand it over to the women, but if a boy, to bring it to him, no matter what he was doing. And it came to pass that as he was at supper with the chief magistrates, a male child was born, and his servants brought the little boy to him. He took it in his arms, as we are told, and said to those who were at table with him, "A king is born unto you, O men of Sparta;" then he laid it down in the royal seat and named it Charilaüs, or *People's Joy*, because all present were filled with joy, admiring as they did his lofty spirit and his righteousness. And so he was king only eight months in all. But on other accounts also he was revered by his fellow-citizens, and more than

νες ἐγένοντο τῶν ὡς ἐπιτρόπῳ βασιλέως καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντι πειθομένων οἱ δι' ἀρετὴν προσέχοντες αὐτῷ καὶ ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντες ἑτοίμως τὸ προσταττόμενον.

5 Ἦν δέ τι καὶ τὸ φθονοῦν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν ὄντι νέῳ πειρώμενον ἐνίστασθαι, μάλιστα μὲν οἱ συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκεῖοι τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μητρὸς ὑβρίσθαι δοκούσης, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς Λεωνίδας καὶ θρασύτερόν ποτε τῷ Λυκούργῳ λοιδορηθείς, ὑπεῖπεν ὡς εἰδείη σαφῶς μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν αὐτόν, ὑπόνοιαν διδοὺς καὶ προκαταλαμβάνων διαβολῇ τὸν Λυκοῦργον, εἴ τι συμβαίη τῷ βασιλεῖ παθεῖν, ὡς ἐπιβεβουλευκότα. τοιοῦτοι δέ τινες λόγοι καὶ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξεφοίτων· ἐφ' οἷς βαρέως φέρων καὶ δεδοικὼς τὸ ἄδηλον, ἔγνω φυγεῖν ἀποδημίᾳ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν, καὶ πλανηθῆναι μέχρις ἂν ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τεκνώσῃ διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας.

IV. Οὕτως ἀπάρας πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κρήτην ἀφίκετο· καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι πολιτείας κατανοήσας καὶ συγγενόμενος τοῖς πρωτεύουσι κατὰ δόξαν ἀνδράσι, τὰ μὲν ἐζήλωσε καὶ παρέλαβε τῶν νόμων, ὡς οἴκαδε μετοίσων καὶ χρησόμενος, ἔστι δ' ὧν κατεφρόνησεν. ἕνα δὲ τῶν νομιζομένων ἐκεῖ σοφῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν χάριτι καὶ φιλίᾳ πείσας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, Θάλητα, ποιητὴν μὲν δοκοῦντα λυρικῶν μελῶν καὶ πρόσχημα τὴν τέχνην ταύτην πεποιημένον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἅπερ οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν νομοθετῶν διαπραττό-

those who obeyed him because he was guardian of the king and had royal power in his hands, were those who clave to him for his virtues and were ready and willing to do his bidding.

There was a party, however, which envied him and sought to impede the growing power of so young a man, especially the kinsmen and friends of the queen-mother, who thought she had been treated with insolence. Her brother, Leonidas, actually railed at Lycurgus once quite boldly, assuring him that he knew well that Lycurgus would one day be king, thereby promoting suspicion and paving the way for the accusation, in case any thing happened to the king, that he had plotted against his life. Some such talk was set in circulation by the queen-mother also, in consequence of which Lycurgus was sorely troubled and fearful of what might be in store for him. He therefore determined to avoid suspicion by travelling abroad, and to continue his wanderings until his nephew should come of age and beget a son to succeed him on the throne.

IV. With this purpose, he set sail, and came first to Crete. Here he studied the various forms of government and made the acquaintance of their most distinguished men. Of some things he heartily approved, and adopted some of their laws, that he might carry them home with him and put them in use; for some things he had only contempt. One of the men regarded there as wise statesmen was Thales, whom Lycurgus persuaded, out of favour and friendship, to go on a mission to Sparta. Now Thales passed as a lyric poet, and screened himself behind this art, but in reality he did the work of

2 μενον. λόγοι γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ ᾠδαὶ πρὸς εὐπείθειαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἀνακλητικοί, διὰ μελῶν ἅμα καὶ ῥυθμῶν πολὺ τὸ κόσμιον ἐχόντων καὶ καταστατικόν, ὧν ἀκροώμενοι κατεπραΰνοντο λεληθότως τὰ ἤθη καὶ συνῳκειοῦντο τῷ ζήλῳ τῶν καλῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιχωριαζούσης τότε πρὸς ἀλλήλους κακοθυμίας, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ τῷ Λυκούργῳ προοδοποιεῖν τὴν παίδευσιν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον.

3 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐπὶ Ἀσίαν ἔπλευσε, βουλόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, ταῖς Κρητικαῖς διαίταις, εὐτελέσιν οὔσαις καὶ αὐστηραῖς, τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφάς, ὥσπερ ἰατρὸς σώμασιν ὑγιεινοῖς ὕπουλα καὶ νοσώδη, παραβαλὼν ἀποθεωρῆσαι τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν βίων καὶ

4 τῶν πολιτειῶν. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ὁμήρου ποιήμασιν ἐντυχὼν πρῶτον, ὡς ἔοικε, παρὰ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῖς Κρεοφύλου διατηρουμένοις, καὶ κατιδὼν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀκρασίαν διατριβῆς τὸ πολιτικὸν καὶ παιδευτικὸν οὐκ ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἀναμεμιγμένον, ἐγράψατο προθύμως καὶ συνήγαγεν ὡς δεῦρο κομιῶν. ἦν γάρ τις ἤδη δόξα τῶν ἐπῶν ἀμαυρὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἐκέκτηντο δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ μέρη τινά, σποράδην τῆς ποιήσεως, ὡς ἔτυχε, διαφερομένης· γνωρίμην δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ μάλιστα πρῶτος ἐποίησε Λυκοῦργος.

5 Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον οἴονται, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν τοῦ μαχίμου διάκρισιν μάλιστα θαυμάσαντα

one of the mightiest lawgivers. For his odes were so many exhortations to obedience and harmony, and their measured rhythms were permeated with ordered tranquillity, so that those who listened to them were insensibly softened in their dispositions, insomuch that they renounced the mutual hatreds which were so rife at that time, and dwelt together in a common pursuit of what was high and noble. Thales, therefore, after a fashion, was a forerunner in Sparta of Lycurgus and his discipline.

From Crete, Lycurgus sailed to Asia, with the desire, as we are told, of comparing with the Cretan civilization, which was simple and severe, that of the Ionians, which was extravagant and luxurious, just as a physician compares with healthy bodies those which are unsound and sickly; he could then study the difference in their modes of life and forms of government. There too, as it would appear, he made his first acquaintance with the poems of Homer, which were preserved among the posterity of Creophylus; and when he saw that the political and disciplinary lessons contained in them were worthy of no less serious attention than the incentives to pleasure and license which they supplied, he eagerly copied and compiled them in order to take them home with him. For these epics already had a certain faint reputation among the Greeks, and a few were in possession of certain portions of them, as the poems were carried here and there by chance; but Lycurgus was the very first to make them really known.

The Aegyptians think that Lycurgus visited them also, and so ardently admired their separation of the military from the other classes of society that he

μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, καὶ χωρίσαντα τοὺς βαναύσους καὶ χειροτέχνας ἀστεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ καθαρὸν ἀποδεῖξαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Αἰγυπτίοις ἔνιοι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
6 συγγραφέων μαρτυροῦσιν· ὅτι δὲ καὶ Λιβύην καὶ 42
Ἰβηρίαν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν πλανηθεὶς τοῖς Γυμνοσοφισταῖς ὡμίλησεν, οὐδένα πλὴν Ἀριστοκράτη τὸν Ἱππάρχου Σπαρτιάτην εἰρηκότα γινώσκομεν.

V. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἐπόθουν ἀπόντα καὶ μετεπέμποντο πολλάκις, ὡς τοὺς μὲν βασιλεῖς ὄνομα καὶ τιμήν, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν διαφέρον τῶν πολλῶν ἔχοντας, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ φύσιν ἡγεμονικὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἀνθρώπων ἀγωγὸν οὖσαν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἦν ἀβούλητος ἡ παρουσία τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἤλπιζον ἐκείνου συμπαρόντος ἧττον ὑβρίζουσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς.
2 ἐπανελθὼν οὖν πρὸς οὕτω διακειμένους εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὰ παρόντα κινεῖν καὶ μεθιστάναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὡς τῶν κατὰ μέρος νόμων οὐδὲν ἔργον οὐδὲ ὄφελος, εἰ μή τις ὥσπερ σώματι πονηρῷ καὶ γέμοντι παντοδαπῶν νοσημάτων τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐκτήξας καὶ μεταβαλὼν κρᾶσιν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμῶν ἑτέρας ἄρξεται καινῆς διαίτης.
3 διανοηθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας καὶ χρησάμενος ἐπανῆλθε τὸν διαβόητον ἐκεῖνον χρησμὸν κομίζων, ᾧ θεοφιλῆ μὲν αὐτὸν ἡ Πυθία προσεῖπε καὶ θεὸν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπον, εὐνομίας δὲ χρήζουτι

transferred it to Sparta, and by removing mechanics and artisans from participation in the government, made his civil polity really refined and pure. At any rate, this assertion of the Aegyptians is confirmed by some Greek historians. But that Lycurgus visited Libya and Iberia also, and that he wandered over India and had conferences with the Gymnosophists, no one has stated, so far as I know, except Aristocrates the son of Hipparchus, the Spartan.

V. The Lacedaemonians missed Lycurgus sorely, and sent for him many times. They felt that their kings were such in name and station merely, but in everything else were nothing better than their subjects, while in him there was a nature fitted to lead, and a power to make men follow him. However, not even the kings were averse to having him at home, but hoped that in his presence their subjects would treat them with less insolence. Returning, then, to a people thus disposed, he at once undertook to change the existing order of things and revolutionize the civil polity. He was convinced that a partial change of the laws would be of no avail whatsoever, but that he must proceed as a physician would with a patient who was debilitated and full of all sorts of diseases; he must reduce and alter the existing temperament by means of drugs and purges, and introduce a new and different regimen. Full of this determination, he first made a journey to Delphi, and after sacrificing to the god and consulting the oracle, he returned with that famous response in which the Pythian priestess addressed him as "beloved of the gods, and rather god than man," and said that the god had granted

διδόναι καὶ καταινεῖν ἔφη τὸν θεὸν ἢ πολὺ κρατίστη τῶν ἄλλων ἔσται πολιτειῶν.

4 Ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ τούτοις προσήγετο[1] τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ συνεφάπτεσθαι παρεκάλει, κρύφα διαλεγόμενος τοῖς φίλοις πρῶτον, εἶτα οὕτως κατὰ μικρὸν ἁπτόμενος πλειόνων καὶ συνιστὰς ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν. ὡς δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦκε, τριάκοντα τοὺς πρώτους ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἕωθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν ἐκπλήξεως ἕνεκα καὶ φόβου πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας. ὧν εἴκοσι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Ἕρμιππος ἀνέγραψε· τὸν δὲ μάλιστα τῶν Λυκούργου ἔργων κοινωνήσαντα πάντων καὶ συμπραγματευσάμενον τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους Ἀρθμιά-

5 δαν ὀνομάζουσιν. ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Χαρίλαος φοβηθεὶς ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅλης τῆς πράξεως συνισταμένης, κατέφυγε πρὸς τὴν Χαλκίοικον· εἶτα πεισθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν ὅρκους ἀνέστη καὶ μετεῖχε τῶν πραττομένων, φύσει πρᾷος ὤν· ὥς που καὶ λέγεται συμβασιλεύοντα τὸν Ἀρχέλαον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκωμιάζοντας τὸν νεανίσκον εἰπεῖν· "Πῶς δ' ἂν εἴη Χαρίλαος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ὃς οὐδὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλεπός ἐστι;"

6 Πλειόνων δὲ καινοτομουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου πρῶτον ἦν καὶ μέγιστον ἡ κατάστασις τῶν γερόντων, ἣν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων τῇ τῶν βασιλέων ἀρχῇ φλεγμαινούσῃ μιχθεῖσαν καὶ γενομένην ἰσόψηφον εἰς τὰ μέγιστα σωτηρίαν ἅμα καὶ

[1] προσήγετο Cobet : προσῆγε.

his prayer for good laws, and promised him a constitution which should be the best in the world.

Thus encouraged, he tried to bring the chief men of Sparta over to his side, and exhorted them to put their hands to the work with him, explaining his designs secretly to his friends at first, then little by little engaging more and uniting them to attempt the task. And when the time for action came, he ordered thirty of the chief men to go armed into the market-place at break of day, to strike consternation and terror into those of the opposite party. The names of twenty of the most eminent among them have been recorded by Hermippus; but the man who had the largest share in all the undertakings of Lycurgus and co-operated with him in the enactment of his laws, bore the name of Arthmiadas. When the tumult began, King Charilaüs, fearing that the whole affair was a conspiracy against himself, fled for refuge to the Brazen House;[1] but he was soon convinced of his error, and having exacted oaths for his safety from the agitators, left his place of refuge, and even joined them in their enterprise, being of a gentle and yielding disposition, so much so, indeed, that Archelaüs, his royal colleague, is said to have remarked to those who were extolling the young king, "How can Charilaüs be a good man, when he has no severity even for the bad?"

Among the many innovations which Lycurgus made, the first and most important was his institution of a senate, or Council of Elders, which, as Plato says,[2] by being blended with the "feverish" government of the kings, and by having an equal vote with them in matters of the highest importance,

[1] A temple of Athena. [2] *Laws*, p. 691 e.

σωφροσύνην παρασχεῖν. αἰωρουμένη γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία καὶ ἀποκλίνουσα νῦν μὲν ὡς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τυραννίδα, νῦν δὲ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ
7 δημοκρατίαν, οἷον ἕρμα τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν ἐν μέσῳ θεμένη καὶ ἰσορροπήσασα τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην τάξιν ἔσχε καὶ κατάστασιν, ἀεὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι γερόντων τοῖς μὲν βασιλεῦσι προστιθεμένων ὅσον ἀντιβῆναι πρὸς δημοκρατίαν, αὖθις δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τυραννίδα τὸν δῆμον ἀναρρωννύντων. τοσούτους δέ φησι καταστα θῆναι τοὺς γέροντας Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι τριάκοντα τῶν πρώτων μετὰ Λυκούργου γενομένων δύο τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐγκατέλιπον ἀποδειλιάσαν-
8 τες. ὁ δὲ Σφαῖρος ἐξ ἀρχῆς φησι τοσούτους γενέσθαι τοὺς τῆς γνώμης μετασχόντας. εἴη δ' ἄν τι καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δι' ἑβδομάδος τετράδι πολλαπλασιασθείσης ἀποτελούμενον, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς αὑτοῦ μέρεσιν ἴσος ὢν μετὰ τὴν ἑξάδα τέλειός ἐστιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τοσούτους ἀποδεῖξαι τοὺς γέροντας ὅπως οἱ πάντες εἶεν τριάκοντα, τοῖς ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τοῖν δυοῖν βασιλέοιν 43
προστιθεμένοιν.

VI. Οὕτω δὲ περὶ ταύτην ἐσπούδασε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ὥστε μαντείαν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομίσαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἣν ῥήτραν καλοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· "Διὸς Συλλανίου[1] καὶ Ἀθανᾶς Συλλανίας[1] ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ

[1] Συλλανίου, Συλλανίας Bekker adopts the corrections of Bryan to Ἐλλανίου and Ἐλλανίας.

brought safety and due moderation into counsels of state. For before this the civil polity was veering and unsteady, inclining at one time to follow the kings towards tyranny, and at another to follow the multitude towards democracy; but now, by making the power of the senate a sort of ballast for the ship of state and putting her on a steady keel, it achieved the safest and the most orderly arrangement, since the twenty-eight senators always took the side of the kings when it was a question of curbing democracy, and, on the other hand, always strengthened the people to withstand the encroachments of tyranny. The number of the senators was fixed at twenty-eight because, according to Aristotle, two of the thirty original associates of Lycurgus abandoned the enterprise from lack of courage. But Sphaerus says that this was originally the number of those who shared the confidence of Lycurgus. Possibly there is some virtue in this number being made up of seven multiplied by four, apart from the fact that, being equal to the sum of its own factors, it is the next perfect number after six. But in my own opinion, Lycurgus made the senators of just that number in order that the total might be thirty when the two kings were added to the eight and twenty.

VI. So eager was Lycurgus for the establishment of this form of government, that he obtained an oracle from Delphi about it, which they call a "rhetra." And this is the way it runs: "When thou hast built a temple to Zeus Syllanius and Athena Syllania, divided the people into 'phylai' and into 'obai,' and established a senate of thirty members, including the 'archagetai,' then from time to

Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακιῶνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι· δάμῳ δὲ τὰν κυρίαν ἦμεν καὶ
2 κράτος." ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν φυλὰς φυλάξαι καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαι διελεῖν ἐστι καὶ κατανεῖμαι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς μερίδας, ὧν τὰς μὲν φυλάς, τὰς δὲ ὠβὰς προσηγόρευκεν. ἀρχαγέται δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς λέγονται, τὸ δὲ ἀπελλάζειν ἐκκλησιάζειν· ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὸν Πύθιον ἀνῆψε. τὴν δὲ Βαβύκαν Χείμαρρος,[1] καὶ τὸν Κνακιῶνα νῦν Οἰνοῦντα προσαγορεύουσιν· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τὸν μὲν Κνακιῶνα ποταμόν, τὴν δὲ
3 Βαβύκαν γέφυραν. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τούτων τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἦγον, οὔτε παστάδων οὐσῶν οὔτε ἄλλης τινὸς κατασκευῆς. οὐθὲν γὰρ ᾤετο ταῦτα πρὸς εὐβουλίαν εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ βλάπτειν, φλυαρώδεις ἀπεργαζόμενα καὶ χαύνους φρονήματι κενῷ τὰς διανοίας τῶν συμπορευομένων, ὅταν εἰς ἀγάλματα καὶ γραφὰς ἢ προσκήνια θεάτρων ἢ στέγας βουλευτηρίων ἠσκημένας περιττῶς ἐκκλησιάζοντες ἀποβλέπωσι. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἀθροισθέντος εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ἐφεῖτο, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων προτεθεῖσαν
4 ἐπικρῖναι κύριος ἦν ὁ δῆμος. ὕστερον μέντοι τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρέσει καὶ προσθέσει τὰς γνώμας διαστρεφόντων καὶ παραβιαζομένων, Πολύδωρος καὶ Θεόπομπος οἱ βασιλεῖς τάδε τῇ ῥήτρᾳ παρενέγραψαν· "Αἰ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἕλοιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατῆρας ἦμεν," τοῦτ' ἔστι μὴ κυροῦν, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀφίστασθαι καὶ

[1] **Χείμαρρος** this, or some other later name, is thought to have fallen from the text by Sintenis[2], after E. Curtius, *Peloponnesus*, ii. p. 315; Coraës and Bekker have *τὴν δὲ* **Βαβύκαν** *καὶ τὸν* **Κνακιῶνα**, with the MSS.

time 'appellazein' between Babyca[1] and Cnacion,[1] and there introduce and rescind measures; but the people must have the deciding voice and the power." In these clauses, the "phylai" and the "obai" refer to divisions and distributions of the people into *clans* and *phratries*, or *brotherhoods*; by "archagetai" the *kings* are designated, and "apellazein" means *to assemble* the people, with a reference to *Apollo*, the Pythian god, who was the source and author of the polity. The Babyca is now called Cheimarrus, and the Cnacion Oenus; but Aristotle says that Cnacion is a river, and Babyca a bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls nor any other kind of building for the purpose. For by such things Lycurgus thought good counsel was not promoted, but rather discouraged, since the serious purposes of an assembly were rendered foolish and futile by vain thoughts, as they gazed upon statues and paintings, or scenic embellishments, or extravagantly decorated roofs of council halls. When the multitude was thus assembled, no one of them was permitted to make a motion, but the motion laid before them by the senators and kings could be accepted or rejected by the people. Afterwards, however, when the people by additions and subtractions perverted and distorted the sense of motions laid before them, Kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted this clause into the rhetra: "But if the people should adopt a distorted motion, the senators and kings shall have power of adjournment"; that is, should not ratify the vote, but dismiss outright and dissolve the session, on the

[1] Probably names of small tributaries of the river Eurotas.

διαλύειν τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ἐκτρέποντα καὶ μεταποιοῦντα τὴν γνώμην παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔπεισαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προστάσσοντος, ὥς που Τυρταῖος ἐπιμέμνηται διὰ τούτων·

Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἴκαδ' ἔνεικαν
μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπεα·
ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,
οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτας ἱμερόεσσα πόλις,
πρεσβύτας τε γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας,
εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους.

VII. Οὕτω τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦ Λυκούργου μίξαντος, ὅμως ἄκρατον ἔτι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ ἰσχυρὰν οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες σπαργῶσαν καὶ θυμουμένην, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, οἷον ψάλιον ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν, ἔτεσί που μάλιστα τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ Λυκοῦργον πρώτων τῶν περὶ Ἔλατον ἐφόρων καταστα-
2 θέντων ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος· ὃν καί φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ὀνειδιζόμενον ὡς ἐλάττω παραδώσοντα τοῖς παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἢ παρέλαβε, "Μείζω μὲν οὖν," εἰπεῖν, "ὅσῳ χρονιωτέραν." τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὸ ἄγαν ἀποβαλοῦσα μετὰ τοῦ φθόνου διέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον, ὥστε μὴ παθεῖν

ground that it was perverting and changing the motion contrary to the best interests of the state. And they were actually able to persuade the city that the god authorized this addition to the rhetra, as Tyrtaeus reminds us in these verses:—

"Phoebus Apollo's the mandate was which they brought from Pytho,
Voicing the will of the god, nor were his words unfulfilled:
Sway in the council and honours divine belong to the princes
Under whose care has been set Sparta's city of charm;
Second to them are the elders, and next come the men of the people
Duly confirming by vote unperverted decrees."

VII. Although Lycurgus thus tempered his civil polity, nevertheless the oligarchical element in it was still unmixed and dominant, and his successors, seeing it "swelling and foaming," as Plato says,[1] "imposed as it were a curb upon it, namely, the power of the ephors." It was about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus that the first ephors, Elatus and his colleagues, were appointed, in the reign of Theopompus. This king, they say, on being reviled by his wife because the royal power, when he handed it over to his sons, would be less than when he received it, said: "Nay, but greater, in that it will last longer." And in fact, by renouncing excessive claims and freeing itself from jealous hate, royalty at Sparta escaped its perils, so that the Spartan kings did not experience the fate which the

[1] *Laws*, p. 692 a.

ἃ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλεῖς ἔδρασαν, μηδὲν ἐνδοῦναι μηδὲ χαλάσαι τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐθελήσαντας. ὃ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Λυκούργου σοφίαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐποίησε φανερὰν εἰς τὰς Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀργείων, συγγενῶν καὶ γειτόνων, δήμων καὶ βασιλέων στά-
3 σεις καὶ κακοπολιτείας ἀφορῶσιν, οἳ τῶν ἴσων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τετυχηκότες, ἐν δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ πλέον ἔχειν ἐκείνων δόξαντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδαιμόνησαν, ἀλλ' ὕβρει μὲν τῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ εὐπειθείᾳ δὲ τῶν ὄχλων, τὰ καθεστῶτα συνταράξαντες ἔδειξαν ὅτι θεῖον ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐτύχημα 44
τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ὁ τὴν πολιτείαν ἁρμοσάμενος καὶ κεράσας παρ' αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

VIII. Δεύτερον δὲ τῶν Λυκούργου πολιτευμάτων καὶ νεανικώτατον ὁ τῆς γῆς ἀναδασμός ἐστι. δεινῆς γὰρ οὔσης ἀνωμαλίας καὶ πολλῶν ἀκτημόνων καὶ ἀπόρων ἐπιφερομένων τῇ πόλει, τοῦ δὲ πλούτου παντάπασιν εἰς ὀλίγους συνερρυηκότος, ὕβριν καὶ φθόνον καὶ κακουργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔτι πρεσβύτερα καὶ μείζω νοσήματα
2 πολιτείας, πλοῦτον καὶ πενίαν, ἐξελαύνων, συνέπεισε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς μέσον θέντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναδάσασθαι, καὶ ζῆν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἅπαντας ὁμαλεῖς καὶ ἰσοκλήρους τοῖς βίοις γενομένους, τὸ δὲ πρωτεῖον ἀρετῇ μετιόντας, ὡς ἄλλης ἑτέρᾳ πρὸς ἕτερον οὐκ οὔσης διαφορᾶς οὐδὲ ἀνισότητος,

Messenians and Argives inflicted upon their kings, who were unwilling to yield at all or remit their power in favour of the people. And this brings into the clearest light the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus, when we contrast the factions and misgovernment of the peoples and kings of Messenia and Argos, who were kinsmen and neighbours of the Spartans. They were on an equality with the Spartans in the beginning, and in the allotment of territory were thought to be even better off than they, and yet their prosperity did not last long, but what with the insolent temper of their kings and the unreasonableness of their peoples, their established institutions were confounded, and they made it clear that it was in very truth a divine blessing which the Spartans had enjoyed in the man who framed and tempered their civil polity for them. These events, however, were of later date.

VIII. A second, and a very bold political measure of Lycurgus, in his redistribution of the land. For there was a dreadful inequality in this regard, the city was heavily burdened with indigent and helpless people, and wealth was wholly concentrated in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to banish insolence and envy and crime and luxury, and those yet more deep-seated and afflictive diseases of the state, poverty and wealth, he persuaded his fellow-citizens to make one parcel of all their territory and divide it up anew, and to live with one another on a basis of entire uniformity and equality in the means of subsistence, seeking preëminence through virtue alone, assured that there was no other difference or inequality between man

πλὴν ὅσην αἰσχρῶν ψόγος ὁρίζει καὶ καλῶν ἔπαινος.

3 Ἐπάγων δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον ἔνειμε τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τοῖς περιοίκοις Λακωνικὴν τρισμυρίους κλήρους, τὴν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὴν Σπάρτην συντελοῦσαν ἐνακισχιλίους· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο κλῆροι Σπαρτιατῶν· ἔνιοι δέ φασι τὸν μὲν Λυκοῦργον ἑξακισχιλίους νεῖμαι, τρισχιλίους δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα προσθεῖναι Πολύδωρον· οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν ἐνακισχιλίων τοῦτον, τοὺς δὲ
4 ἡμίσεις Λυκοῦργον. ὁ δὲ κλῆρος ἦν ἑκάστου τοσοῦτος ὥστε ἀποφορὰν φέρειν ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα κριθῶν μεδίμνους, γυναικὶ δὲ δώδεκα, καὶ τῶν ὑγρῶν καρπῶν ἀναλόγως τὸ πλῆθος. ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ᾤετο τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς, τῆς τροφῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ὑγείαν ἱκανῆς, ἄλλου δὲ μηδενὸς δεησομένοις. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν ὕστερόν ποτε χρόνῳ τὴν χώραν διερχόμενον ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἄρτι τεθερισμένην, ὁρῶντα τοὺς σωροὺς παραλλήλους καὶ ὁμαλεῖς, μειδιᾶσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς ἡ Λακωνικὴ φαίνεται πᾶσα πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶναι νεωστὶ νενεμημένων.

IX. Ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα διαιρεῖν, ὅπως παντάπασιν ἐξέλοι τὸ ἄνισον καὶ ἀνώμαλον, ἐπεὶ χαλεπῶς ἑώρα προσδεχομένους τὴν ἄντικρυς ἀφαίρεσιν, ἑτέρᾳ περιῆλθεν ὁδῷ καὶ κατεπολιτεύσατο τὴν ἐν τούτοις πλεονεξίαν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκυρώσας πᾶν νόμισμα χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ σιδηρῷ προσέταξε· καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἀπὸ πολλοῦ σταθμοῦ

and man than that which was established by blame for base actions and praise for good ones.

Suiting the deed to the word, he distributed the rest of the Laconian land among the "perioeci," or free provincials, in thirty thousand lots, and that which belonged to the city of Sparta, in nine thousand lots, to as many genuine Spartans. But some say that Lycurgus distributed only six thousand lots among the Spartans, and that three thousand were afterwards added by Polydorus; others still, that Polydorus added half of the nine thousand to the half distributed by Lycurgus. The lot of each was large enough to produce annually seventy bushels of barley for a man and twelve for his wife, with a proportionate amount of wine and oil. Lycurgus thought that a lot of this size would be sufficient for them, since they needed sustenance enough to promote vigour and health of body, and nothing else. And it is said that on returning from a journey some time afterwards, as he traversed the land just after the harvest, and saw the heaps of grain standing parallel and equal to one another, he smiled, and said to them that were by: "All Laconia looks like a family estate newly divided among many brothers."

IX. Next, he undertook to divide up their movable property also, in order that every vestige of unevenness and inequality might be removed; and when he saw that they could not bear to have it taken from them directly, he took another course, and overcame their avarice by political devices. In the first place, he withdrew all gold and silver money from currency, and ordained the use of iron money only. Then to a great weight and mass of this he gave a trifling

καὶ ὄγκου δύναμιν ὀλίγην ἔδωκεν, ὥστε δέκα μνῶν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθήκης τε μεγάλης ἐν οἰκίᾳ
2 δεῖσθαι καὶ ζεύγους ἄγοντος. τούτου δὲ κυρωθέντος ἐξέπεσεν ἀδικημάτων γένη πολλὰ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος. τίς γὰρ ἢ κλέπτειν ἔμελλεν ἢ δωροδοκεῖν ἢ ἀποστερεῖν ἢ ἁρπάζειν ὃ μήτε κατακρύψαι δυνατὸν ἦν μήτε κεκτῆσθαι ζηλωτόν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατακόψαι λυσιτελές· ὄξει γάρ, ὡς λέγεται, διαπύρου σιδήρου τὸ στόμωμα κατασβέσας ἀφείλετο τὴν εἰς τἆλλα χρείαν καὶ δύναμιν, ἀδρανοῦς καὶ δυσέργου γενομένου.
3 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περισσῶν ἐποιεῖτο τεχνῶν ξενηλασίαν. ἔμελλον δέ που καὶ μηδενὸς ἐξελαύνοντος αἱ πολλαὶ τῷ κοινῷ νομίσματι συνεκπεσεῖσθαι, διάθεσιν τῶν ἔργων οὐκ ἐχόντων. τὸ γὰρ σιδηροῦν ἀγώγιμον οὐκ ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας οὐδ' εἶχε τιμὴν καταγελώμενον, ὥστε οὐδὲ πρίασθαί τι τῶν ξενικῶν καὶ ῥωπικῶν ὑπῆρχεν, οὐδ' εἰσέπλει φόρτος ἐμπορικὸς εἰς τοὺς λιμένας, οὐδὲ ἐπέβαινε τῆς Λακωνικῆς οὐ σοφιστὴς λόγων, οὐ μάντις ἀγυρτικός, οὐχ ἑταιρῶν τροφεύς, οὐ χρυσῶν τις, οὐκ ἀργυρῶν καλλωπισμάτων δημιουργός, ἅτε δὴ νομίσματος
4 οὐκ ὄντος. ἀλλὰ οὕτως ἀπερημωθεῖσα κατὰ μικρὸν ἡ τρυφὴ τῶν ζωπυρούντων καὶ τρεφόντων αὐτὴ δι' 45
αὑτῆς ἐμαραίνετο· καὶ πλεῖον οὐδὲν ἦν τοῖς πολλὰ κεκτημένοις, ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐχούσης εἰς μέσον τῆς εὐπορίας, ἀλλ' ἐγκατῳκοδομημένης καὶ ἀργούσης. διὸ καὶ τὰ πρόχειρα τῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ταῦτα, κλιντῆρες καὶ δίφροι καὶ τράπεζαι, βέλτιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐδημιουργεῖτο, καὶ κώθων ὁ

value, so that ten minas' worth[1] required a large store-room in the house, and a yoke of cattle to transport it. When this money obtained currency, many sorts of iniquity went into exile from Lacedaemon. For who would steal, or receive as a bribe, or rob, or plunder that which could neither be concealed, nor possessed with satisfaction, nay, nor even cut to pieces with any profit? For vinegar was used, as we are told, to quench the red-hot iron, robbing it of its temper and making it worthless for any other purpose, when once it had become brittle and hard to work.

In the next place, he banished the unnecessary and superfluous arts. And even without such banishment most of them would have departed with the old coinage, since there was no sale for their products. For the iron money could not be carried into the rest of Greece, nor had it any value there, but was rather held in ridicule. It was not possible, therefore, to buy any foreign wares or bric-à-brac; no merchant-seamen brought freight into their harbours; no rhetoric teacher set foot on Laconian soil, no vagabond soothsayer, no keeper of harlots, no gold- or silver-smith, since there was no money there. But luxury, thus gradually deprived of that which stimulated and supported it, died away of itself, and men of large possessions had no advantage over the poor, because their wealth found no public outlet, but had to be stored up at home in idleness. In this way it came about that such common and necessary utensils as bedsteads, chairs, and tables were most excellently made among them, and the Laconian "kothon," or drinking-cup, was in very high repute

[1] About £40, or $200.

Λακωνικὸς εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς στρατείας,
5 ὥς φησι Κριτίας. τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαίως πινόμενα
τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ δυσωποῦντα τὴν ὄψιν ἀπεκρύπ-
τετο τῇ χρόᾳ, καὶ τοῦ θολεροῦ προσκόπτοντος
ἐντὸς καὶ προσισχομένου τοῖς ἄμβωσι, καθαρώ-
τερον ἐπλησίαζε τῷ στόματι τὸ πινόμενον. αἴτιος
δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ νομοθέτης· ἀπηλλαγμένοι γὰρ οἱ
δημιουργοὶ τῶν ἀχρήστων ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις
ἐπεδείκνυντο τὴν καλλιτεχνίαν.

X. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ
τὸν ζῆλον ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου διανοηθείς, τὸ
τρίτον πολίτευμα καὶ κάλλιστον ἐπῆγε, τὴν τῶν
συσσιτίων κατασκευήν, ὥστε δειπνεῖν μετ' ἀλλή-
λων συνιόντας ἐπὶ κοινοῖς καὶ τεταγμένοις ὄψοις
καὶ σιτίοις, οἴκοι δὲ μὴ διαιτᾶσθαι κατακλινέντας
εἰς στρωμνὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας, χερσὶ
δημιουργῶν καὶ μαγείρων ὑπὸ σκότος, ὥσπερ
2 ἀδηφάγα ζῷα, πιαινομένους, καὶ διαφθείροντας
ἅμα τοῖς ἤθεσι τὰ σώματα πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν
ἀνειμένα καὶ πλησμονήν, μακρῶν μὲν ὕπνων, θερ-
μῶν δὲ λουτρῶν, πολλῆς δὲ ἡσυχίας καὶ τρόπον
τινὰ νοσηλείας καθημερινῆς δεομένην. μέγα μὲν οὖν
καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, μεῖζον δὲ τὸ τὸν πλοῦτον ἄζηλον,
ὥς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ ἄπλουτον ἀπεργά-
σασθαι τῇ κοινότητι τῶν δείπνων καὶ τῇ περὶ
3 τὴν δίαιταν εὐτελείᾳ. χρῆσις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ
ἀπόλαυσις οὐδὲ ὄψις ὅλως ἢ ἐπίδειξις τῆς πολλῆς
παρασκευῆς, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δεῖπνον τῷ πένητι τοῦ
πλουσίου βαδίζοντος· ὥστε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλού-
μενον ἐν μόνῃ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον πόλεων τῇ
Σπάρτῃ βλέπεσθαι, τυφλὸν ὄντα τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ

for usefulness among soldiers in active service, as Critias tells us. For its colour concealed the disagreeable appearance of the water which they were often compelled to drink, and its curving lips caught the muddy sediment and held it inside, so that only the purer part reached the mouth of the drinker. For all this they had to thank their lawgiver; since their artisans were now freed from useless tasks, and displayed the beauty of their workmanship in objects of constant and necessary use.

X. With a view to attack luxury still more and remove the thirst for wealth, he introduced his third and most exquisite political device, namely, the institution of common messes, so that they might eat with one another in companies, of common and specified foods, and not take their meals at home, reclining on costly couches at costly tables, delivering themselves into the hands of servants and cooks to be fattened in the dark, like voracious animals, and ruining not only their characters but also their bodies, by surrendering them to every desire and all sorts of surfeit, which call for long sleeps, hot baths, abundant rest, and, as it were, daily nursing and tending. This was surely a great achievement, but it was a still greater one to make wealth "an object of no desire," as Theophrastus says, and even "unwealth,"[1] by this community of meals and simplicity of diet. For the rich man could neither use nor enjoy nor even see or display his abundant means, when he went to the same meal as the poor man; so that it was in Sparta alone, of all the cities under the sun, that men could have that far-famed sight, a Plutus blind, and lying as lifeless

[1] Cf. *Morals*, p. 527 b.

κείμενον ὥσπερ γραφὴν ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἴκοι προδειπνήσαντας ἐξὴν βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὰ συσσίτια πεπληρωμένους, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελῶς οἱ λοιποὶ παραφυλάττοντες τὸν μὴ πίνοντα μηδὲ ἐσθίοντα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκάκιζον ὡς ἀκρατῆ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπομαλακιζόμενον δίαιταν.

XI. Διὸ καὶ μάλιστά φασι τῷ Λυκούργῳ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα χαλεποὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς εὐπόρους, καὶ συστάντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀθρόους καταβοᾶν καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν· τέλος δὲ βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀγορᾶς δρόμῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔφθασεν εἰς ἱερὸν καταφυγών· εἷς δέ τις νεανίσκος, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἀφυής, ὀξὺς δὲ καὶ θυμοειδής, Ἄλκανδρος, ἐπικείμενος καὶ διώκων ἐπιστραφέντος αὐτοῦ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ πα-
2 τάξας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξέκοψεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Λυκοῦργος οὐδὲν ἐνδοὺς πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ στὰς ἐναντίος ἔδειξε τοῖς πολίταις τὸ πρόσωπον ᾐμαγμένον καὶ διεφθαρμένην τὴν ὄψιν· αἰδὼς δὲ πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια τοὺς ἰδόντας ἔσχεν, ὥστε παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἄλκανδρον αὐτῷ καὶ προπέμψαι μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας συναγανακτοῦντας. ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐκείνους μὲν ἐπαινέσας ἀφῆκε, τὸν δὲ Ἄλκανδρον εἰσαγαγὼν οἴκαδε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐποίησεν οὔτ' εἶπεν, ἀπαλλάξας δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις ὑπηρέτας καὶ θεραπευτῆρας ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευσεν ὑπηρετεῖν.
3 ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὢν ἀγεννὴς ἐποίει τὸ προσταττόμενον σιωπῇ, καὶ παραμένων ἅμα τῷ Λυκούργῳ καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος ἐν τῷ κατανοεῖν τὴν πραότητα καὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν αὐστηρὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους

and motionless as a picture. For the rich could not even dine beforehand at home and then go to the common mess with full stomachs, but the rest kept careful watch of him who did not eat and drink with them, and reviled him as a weakling, and one too effeminate for the common diet.

XI. It was due, therefore, to this last political device above all, that the wealthy citizens were incensed against Lycurgus, and banding together against him, denounced him publicly with angry shouts and cries ; finally many pelted him with stones, so that he ran from the market-place. He succeeded in reaching sanctuary before the rest laid hands on him ; but one young man, Alcander, otherwise no mean nature, but hasty and passionate, pressed hard upon him, and as he turned about, smote him with his staff and put out one of his eyes. Lycurgus, however, was far from yielding in consequence of this calamity, but confronted his countrymen, and showed them his face besmeared with blood and his eye destroyed. Whereupon they were so filled with shame and sorrow at the sight, that they placed Alcander in his hands, and conducted him to his house with sympathetic indignation. Lycurgus commended them for their conduct, and dismissed them, but took Alcander into the house with him, where he did the youth no harm by word or deed, but after sending away his customary servants and attendants, ordered him to minister to his wants. The youth, who was of a noble disposition, did as he was commanded, without any words, and abiding thus with Lycurgus, and sharing his daily life, he came to know the gentleness of the man, the calmness of his spirit, the rigid simplicity of his habits, and his

ἄκαμπτον, αὐτός τε δεινῶς διετέθη περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐ σκληρὸς οὐδ' ἀὐθάδης ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἀλλὰ 46
4 μόνος ἥμερος καὶ πρᾷός ἐστι τοῖς ἄλλοις. οὕτω μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεκόλαστο καὶ τοιαύτην ὑπεσχήκει δίκην, ἐκ πονηροῦ νέου καὶ αὐθάδους ἐμμελέστατος ἀνὴρ καὶ σωφρονικώτατος γενόμενος. τοῦ δὲ πάθους ὑπόμνημα Λυκοῦργος ἱδρύσατο τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἣν Ὀπτιλῖτιν προσηγόρευσε· τοὺς γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀπτίλους οἱ τῇδε Δωριεῖς καλοῦσιν. ἔνιοι μέντοι τὸν Λυκοῦργον, ὧν καὶ Διοσκορίδης ἐστὶν ὁ συντεταγμένος τὴν Λακωνικὴν πολιτείαν, πληγῆναι μέν φασιν, οὐ τυφλωθῆναι δὲ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ θεῷ τῆς ἀκέσεως χαριστήριον ἱδρύσασθαι. τὸ μέντοι φέρειν βακτηρίαν ἐκκλησιάζοντες οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται μετὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνην ἀπέμαθον.

XII. Τὰ δὲ συσσίτια Κρῆτες μὲν ἀνδρεῖα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ φιδίτια προσαγορεύουσιν, εἴτε ὡς φιλίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ὑπαρχόντων, ἀντὶ τοῦ λ τὸ δ λαμβάνοντες, εἴτε ὡς πρὸς εὐτέλειαν καὶ φειδὼ συνεθιζόντων. οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἔξωθεν ἐπικεῖσθαι φθόγγον, ὥσπερ ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐδιτίων παρὰ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὴν
2 ἐδωδὴν λεγομένων. συνήρχοντο δὲ ἀνὰ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ βραχεῖ τούτων ἐλάττους ἢ πλείους. ἔφερε δὲ ἕκαστος κατὰ μῆνα τῶν συσσίτων ἀλφίτων μέδιμνον, οἴνου χόας ὀκτώ, τυροῦ πέντε μνᾶς, σύκων ἡμιμναῖα πέντε, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰς ὀψωνίαν μικρόν τι κομιδῇ νομίσματος. ἄλλως δὲ

unwearied industry. He thus became a devoted follower of Lycurgus, and used to tell his intimates and friends that the man was not harsh nor self-willed, as he had supposed, but the mildest and gentlest of them all. Such, then, was the chastisement of this young man, and such the penalty laid upon him, namely, to become, instead of a wild and impetuous youth, a most decorous and discreet man. Lycurgus, moreover, in memory of his misfortune, built a temple to Athena Optilitis, so called from "optilus," which is the local Doric word for *eye*. Some writers, however, of whom one is Dioscorides, who wrote a treatise on the Spartan civil polity, say that although Lycurgus was struck in the eye, his eye was not blinded, but he built the temple to the goddess as a thank-offering for its healing. Be that as it may, the Spartan practice of carrying staves into their assemblies was abandoned after this unfortunate accident.

XII. As for the public messes, the Cretans call them "andreia," but the Lacedaemonians, "phiditia," either because they are conducive to *friendship* and friendliness, "phiditia" being equivalent to "philitia"; or because they accustom men to simplicity and *thrift*, for which their word is "pheido." But it is quite possible, as some say, that the first letter of the word "phiditia" has been added to it, making "phiditia" out of "editia," which refers merely to meals and *eating*. They met in companies of fifteen, a few more or less, and each one of the mess-mates contributed monthly a bushel of barley-meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two and a half pounds of figs, and in addition to this, a very small sum of money for such relishes as flesh and fish. Besides this, whenever any one made a

καὶ θύσας τις ἀπαρχὴν καὶ θηρεύσας μέρος ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον. ἐξῆν γὰρ οἴκοι δειπνεῖν ὁπότε θύσας τις ἢ κυνηγῶν ὀψίσειε, τοὺς
3 δὲ ἄλλους ἔδει παρεῖναι. καὶ μέχρι γε πολλοῦ τὰς συσσιτήσεις ἀκριβῶς διεφύλαττον. Ἄγιδος γοῦν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας καταπεπολεμηκὼς Ἀθηναίους, βουλομένου παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν καὶ μεταπεμπομένου τὰς μερίδας, οὐκ ἔπεμψαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι, τοῦ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπ' ὀργῆς μὴ θύσαντος ἦν ἔδει θυσίαν, ἐζημίωσαν αὐτόν.

4 Εἰς δὲ τὰ συσσίτια καὶ παῖδες ἐφοίτων, ὥσπερ εἰς διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης ἀγόμενοι, καὶ λόγων ἠκροῶντο πολιτικῶν καὶ παιδευτὰς ἐλευθερίας ἑώρων, αὐτοί τε παίζειν εἰθίζοντο καὶ σκώπτειν ἄνευ βωμολοχίας καὶ σκωπτόμενοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτο Λακωνικὸν εἶναι, σκώμματος ἀνέχεσθαι· μὴ φέροντα δὲ ἐξῆν
5 παραιτεῖσθαι, καὶ ὁ σκώπτων ἐπέπαυτο. τῶν δ' εἰσιόντων ἑκάστῳ δείξας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τὰς θύρας, "Διὰ τούτων," φησίν, "ἔξω λόγος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται." δοκιμάζεσθαι δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον τοῦ συσσιτίου μετασχεῖν οὕτω φασί. λαβὼν τῶν συσσίτων ἕκαστος ἀπομαγδαλίαν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα, τοῦ διακόνου φέροντος ἀγγεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἔβαλλε σιωπῇ καθάπερ ψῆφον, ὁ μὲν δοκιμάζων ἁπλῶς, ὁ δ' ἐκκρίνων σφόδρα τῇ χειρὶ πιέσας.
6 ἡ γὰρ πεπιεσμένη τὴν τῆς τετρημένης ἔχει δύναμιν. κἂν μίαν εὕρωσι τοιαύτην, οὐ προσδέ-

sacrifice of first fruits, or brought home game from the hunt, he sent a portion to his mess. For whenever any one was belated by a sacrifice or the chase, he was allowed to sup at home, but the rest had to be at the mess. For a long time this custom of eating at common mess-tables was rigidly observed. For instance, when King Agis, on returning from an expedition in which he had been victorious over the Athenians, wished to sup at home with his wife, and sent for his rations, the polemarchs [1] refused to send them to him; and when on the following day his anger led him to omit the customary sacrifice, they laid a fine upon him.

Boys also used to come to these public messes, as if they were attending schools of sobriety; there they would listen to political discussions and see instructive models of liberal breeding. There they themselves also became accustomed to sport and jest without scurrility, and to endure jesting without displeasure. Indeed, it seems to have been especially characteristic of a Spartan to endure jesting; but if any one could not bear up under it, he had only to ask it, and the jester ceased. As each one came in, the eldest of the company pointed to the door and said to him: "Through that door no word goes forth outside." And they say that a candidate for membership in one of these messes underwent the following ordeal. Each of the mess-mates took in his hand a bit of soft bread, and when a servant came along with a bowl upon his head, then they cast it into this without a word, like a ballot, leaving it just as it was if he approved of the candidate, but if he disapproved, squeezing it tight in his hand first. For the flattened piece

[1] At Sparta, military commanders under the kings.

χονται τὸν ἐπεισιόντα, βουλόμενοι πάντας ἡδομένους ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι. τὸν δὲ οὕτως ἀποδοκιμασθέντα κεκαδδίσθαι λέγουσι· κάδδιχος γὰρ καλεῖται τὸ ἀγγεῖον εἰς ὃ τὰς ἀπομαγδαλίας ἐμβάλλουσι. τῶν δὲ ὄψων εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ μέλας ζωμός, ὥστε μηδὲ κρεαδίου δεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἀλλὰ παραχωρεῖν τοῖς νεανίσκοις, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοῦ ζωμοῦ καταχεο-
7 μένους ἐστιᾶσθαι. λέγεται δέ τινα τῶν Ποντικῶν βασιλέων ἕνεκα τοῦ ζωμοῦ καὶ πρίασθαι Λακωνικὸν μάγειρον· εἶτα γευσάμενον δυσχεραίναι· καὶ τὸν μάγειρον εἰπεῖν· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτον δεῖ τὸν ζωμὸν ἐν τῷ Εὐρώτᾳ λελουμένους ἐποψᾶσθαι." πιόντες δὲ μετρίως ἀπίασι δίχα λαμπάδος. οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστι πρὸς φῶς βαδίζειν, οὔτε ταύτην οὔτε ἄλλην ὁδόν, ὅπως ἐθίζωνται σκότους καὶ νυκτὸς εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀδεῶς ὁδεύειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν συσσίτια τοιαύτην ἔχει τάξιν.

XIII. Νόμους δὲ γεγραμμένους ὁ Λυκοῦργος 47
οὐκ ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ μία τῶν καλουμένων ῥητρῶν ἐστιν αὕτη. τὰ μὲν γὰρ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πόλεως καὶ ἀρετήν, ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσιν ᾠήθη καὶ ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐγκατεστοιχειωμένα, μένειν ἀκίνητα καὶ βέβαια, ἔχοντα τὴν προαίρεσιν δεσμὸν ἰσχυρότερον τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἣν ἡ παίδευσις ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς νέοις, νομοθέτου διάθεσιν ἀπεργαζομένη περὶ ἕκαστον αὐ-
2 τῶν. τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ χρηματικὰ συμβόλαια καὶ

of bread had the force of a perforated, or negative, ballot. And if one such is found in the bowl, the candidate is not admitted to the mess, because they wish all its members to be congenial. The candidate thus rejected is said to have been "caddished," for "caddichus" [1] is the name of the bowl into which they cast the pieces of bread. Of their dishes, the black broth is held in the highest esteem, so that the elderly men do not even ask for a bit of meat, but leave it for the young men, while they themselves have the broth poured out for their meals. And it is said that one of the kings of Pontus actually bought a Spartan cook for the sake of having this broth, and then, when he tasted it, disliked it; whereupon the cook said: "O King, those who relish this broth must first have bathed in the river Eurotas." After drinking moderately, they go off home without a torch; for they are not allowed to walk with a light, either on this or any other occasion, that they may accustom themselves to marching boldly and without fear in the darkness of night. Such, then, is the fashion of their common messes.

XIII. None of his laws were put into writing by Lycurgus, indeed, one of the so-called "rhetras" forbids it. For he thought that if the most important and binding principles which conduce to the prosperity and virtue of a city were implanted in the habits and training of its citizens, they would remain unchanged and secure, having a stronger bond than compulsion in the fixed purposes imparted to the young by education, which performs the office of a law-giver for every one of them. And as for minor

[1] Or "caddos," from which the verb in the Greek text is formed.

μεταπίπτοντα ταῖς χρείαις ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, βέλτιον ἦν μὴ καταλαμβάνειν ἐγγράφοις ἀνάγκαις μηδὲ ἀκινήτοις ἔθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν, προσθέσεις λαμβάνοντα καὶ ἀφαιρέσεις, ἃς ἂν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι δοκιμάσωσι. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον καὶ πᾶν τῆς νομοθεσίας ἔργον εἰς τὴν παιδείαν ἀνῆψε.

3 Μία μὲν οὖν τῶν ῥητρῶν ἦν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μὴ χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις. ἑτέρα δὲ πάλιν κατὰ τῆς πολυτελείας, ὅπως οἰκία πᾶσα τὴν μὲν ὀροφὴν ἀπὸ πελέκεως εἰργασμένην ἔχῃ, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἀπὸ πρίονος μόνου καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐργαλείων. ὅπερ γὰρ ὕστερον Ἐπαμεινώνδαν εἰπεῖν λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τραπέζης, ὡς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄριστον οὐ χωρεῖ προδοσίαν, τοῦτο πρῶτος ἐνόησε Λυκοῦργος, ὡς οἰκία τοιαύτη τρυφὴν
4 οὐ χωρεῖ καὶ πολυτέλειαν, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀπειρόκαλος καὶ ἀνόητος ὥστε εἰς οἰκίαν ἀφελῆ καὶ δημοτικὴν εἰσφέρειν κλίνας ἀργυρόποδας καὶ στρωμνὰς ἁλουργεῖς καὶ χρυσᾶς κύλικας καὶ τὴν τούτοις ἑπομένην πολυτέλειαν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη συναρμόζεσθαι καὶ συνεξομοιοῦν τῇ μὲν οἰκίᾳ τὴν κλίνην, τῇ δὲ κλίνῃ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν
5 ἄλλην χορηγίαν καὶ κατασκευήν. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς συνηθείας φασὶ καὶ Λεωτυχίδην τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐν Κορίνθῳ δειπνοῦντα, καὶ θεασάμενον τῆς στέγης τοῦ οἴκου τὴν κατασκευὴν πολυτελῆ καὶ φατνωματικήν, ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν ξένον εἰ τετράγωνα παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ ξύλα φύεται.

Τρίτην δὲ ῥήτραν διαμνημονεύουσι τοῦ Λυκούργου, τὴν κωλύουσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους

matters, such as business contracts, and cases where the needs vary from time to time, it was better, as he thought, not to hamper them by written constraints or fixed usages, but to suffer them, as occasion demanded, to receive such modifications as educated men should determine. Indeed, he assigned the function of law-making wholly and entirely to education.

One of his rhetras accordingly, as I have said, prohibited the use of written laws. Another was directed against extravagance, ordaining that every house should have its roof fashioned by the axe, and its doors by the saw only, and by no other tool. For, as in later times Epaminondas is reported to have said at his own table, that such a meal did not comport with treachery, so Lycurgus was the first to see clearly that such a house does not comport with luxury and extravagance. Nor is any man so vulgar and senseless as to introduce into a simple and common house silver-footed couches, purple coverlets, gold drinking-cups, and all the extravagance which goes along with these, but one must of necessity adapt and proportion his couch to his house, his coverlets to his couch, and to this the rest of his supplies and equipment. It was because he was used to this simplicity that Leotychides the Elder, as we are told, when he was dining in Corinth, and saw the roof of the house adorned with costly panellings, asked his host if trees grew square in that country.

A third rhetra of Lycurgus is mentioned, which forbids making frequent expeditions against the same

πολλάκις[1] στρατεύειν, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀμύνε-
6 σθαι συνεθιζόμενοι πολεμικοὶ γένωνται. καὶ τοῦτό γε μάλιστα κατηγοροῦσιν Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ βασιλέως ὕστερον, ὡς ταῖς συνεχέσι καὶ πυκναῖς εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβολαῖς καὶ στρατείαις τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀντιπάλους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατασκευάσαντος. διὸ καὶ τετρωμένον αὐτὸν ἰδὼν Ἀνταλκίδας, "Καλά," ἔφη, "τὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς μηδὲ εἰδότας μάχεσθαι διδάξας." τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα νομοθετήματα ῥήτρας ὠνόμασεν, ὡς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κομιζόμενα[2] καὶ χρησμοὺς ὄντα.

XIV. Τῆς δὲ παιδείας, ἣν μέγιστον ἡγεῖτο τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ κάλλιστον ἔργον εἶναι, πόρρωθεν ἀρχόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπεσκόπει τὰ περὶ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τὰς γενέσεις. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, ἐπιχειρήσας σωφρονίζειν τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπαύσατο μὴ κρατῶν τῆς πολλῆς ἀνέσεως καὶ γυναικοκρατίας διὰ τὰς πολλὰς στρατείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν αἷς ἠναγκάζοντο κυρίας ἀπολείπειν ἐκείνας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοῦ προσήκοντος αὐτὰς ἐθεράπευον καὶ δεσποίνας προσηγόρευον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο.
2 τὰ μέν γε σώματα τῶν παρθένων δρόμοις καὶ πάλαις καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων διεπόνησεν, ὡς ἥ τε τῶν γεννωμένων ῥίζωσις ἰσχυρὰν ἐν ἰσχυροῖς σώμασιν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα βλαστάνοι

[1] πολλάκις inserted before στρατεύειν to agree with *Morals*, p. 227 c; πολεμίους στρατεύειν.

[2] κομιζόμενα Cobet, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis[2]: νομιζόμενα (*were believed to come*).

enemies, in order not to accustom such enemies to frequent defence of themselves, which would make them warlike. And this was the special grievance which they had against King Agesilaüs in later times, namely, that by his continual and frequent incursions and expeditions into Boeotia he rendered the Thebans a match for the Lacedaemonians. And therefore, when Antalcidas saw the king wounded, he said: "This is a fine tuition-fee which thou art getting from the Thebans, for teaching them how to fight, when they did not wish to do it, and did not know how." Such ordinances as these were called "rhetras" by Lycurgus, implying that they came from the god and were oracles.

XIV. In the matter of education, which he regarded as the greatest and noblest task of the law-giver, he began at the very source, by carefully regulating marriages and births. For it is not true that, as Aristotle says,[1] he tried to bring the women under proper restraint, but desisted, because he could not overcome the great licence and power which the women enjoyed on account of the many expeditions in which their husbands were engaged. During these the men were indeed obliged to leave their wives in sole control at home, and for this reason paid them greater deference than was their due, and gave them the title of Mistress. But even to the women Lycurgus paid all possible attention. He made the maidens exercise their bodies in running, wrestling, casting the discus, and hurling the javelin, in order that the fruit of their wombs might have vigorous root in vigorous bodies and come to better maturity, and that they themselves

[1] *Pol.* ii. 6, 8.

βέλτιον, αὐταί τε μετὰ ῥώμης τοὺς τόκους ὑπομένουσαι καλῶς ἅμα καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀγωνίζοιντο πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας. ἀφελὼν δὲ θρύψιν καὶ σκιατραφίαν καὶ θηλύτητα πᾶσαν οὐδὲν ἧττον εἴθισε τῶν κόρων τὰς κόρας γυμνάς τε πομπεύειν καὶ πρὸς 48
ἱεροῖς τισιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ ᾄδειν τῶν νέων παρόν-
3 των καὶ θεωμένων. ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ σκώμματα λέγουσαι πρὸς ἕκαστον εὐχρήστως ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων· καὶ πάλιν εἰς τοὺς ἀξίους αὐτῶν ἐγκώμια μετ' ᾠδῆς πεποιημένα διεξιοῦσαι, φιλοτιμίαν πολλὴν καὶ ζῆλον ἐνεποίουν τοῖς νεανίσκοις. ὁ γὰρ ἐγκωμιασθεὶς ἐπ' ἀνδραγαθίᾳ καὶ κλεινὸς ἐν ταῖς παρθένοις γεγονὼς ἀπῄει μεγαλυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων· αἱ δὲ μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ σκωμμάτων δήξεις οὐδὲν ἀμβλύτεραι τῶν μετὰ σπουδῆς νουθετημάτων ἦσαν, ἅτε δὴ πρὸς τὴν θέαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν γερόντων συμπορευομένων.

4 Ἡ δὲ γύμνωσις τῶν παρθένων οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν εἶχεν, αἰδοῦς μὲν παρούσης, ἀκρασίας δὲ ἀπούσης, ἀλλ' ἐθισμὸν ἀφελῆ καὶ ζῆλον εὐεξίας ἐνειργάζετο, καὶ φρονήματος τὸ θῆλυ παρέγευεν οὐκ ἀγεννοῦς, ὡς μηδὲν ἧττον αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας μετουσίαν οὖσαν. ὅθεν αὐταῖς καὶ λέγειν ἐπῄει καὶ φρονεῖν οἷα καὶ περὶ Γοργοῦς ἱστόρηται τῆς Λεωνίδου γυναικός. εἰπούσης γάρ τινος, ὡς ἔοικε, ξένης πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς "Μόναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄρχετε ὑμεῖς αἱ Λάκαιναι," "Μόναι γάρ," ἔφη, "τίκτομεν ἄνδρας."

XV. Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα παρορμητικὰ πρὸς γάμον· λέγω δὲ τὰς πομπὰς τῶν παρθένων καὶ

might come with vigour to the fulness of their times, and struggle successfully and easily with the pangs of child-birth. He freed them from softness and delicacy and all effeminacy by accustoming the maidens no less than the youths to wear tunics only in processions, and at certain festivals to dance and sing when the young men were present as spectators. There they sometimes even mocked and railed good-naturedly at any youth who had misbehaved himself; and again they would sing the praises of those who had shown themselves worthy, and so inspire the young men with great ambition and ardour. For he who was thus extolled for his valour and held in honour among the maidens, went away exalted by their praises; while the sting of their playful raillery was no less sharp than that of serious admonitions, especially as the kings and senators, together with the rest of the citizens, were all present at the spectacle.

Nor was there anything disgraceful in this scant clothing of the maidens, for modesty attended them, and wantonness was banished; nay, rather, it produced in them habits of simplicity and an ardent desire for health and beauty of body. It gave also to woman-kind a taste of lofty sentiment, for they felt that they too had a place in the arena of bravery and ambition. Wherefore they were led to think and speak as Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, is said to have done. When some foreign woman, as it would seem, said to her: "You Spartan women are the only ones who rule their men," she answered: "Yes, we are the only ones that give birth to men."

XV. Moreover, there were incentives to marriage in these things,—I mean such things as the appear-

τὰς ἀποδύσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν ὄψει τῶν νέων, ἀγομένων οὐ γεωμετρικαῖς, ἀλλ' ἐρωτικαῖς, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀνάγκαις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀτιμίαν τινὰ προσέθηκε τοῖς ἀγάμοις. εἴργοντο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις τῆς θέας· τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἐν κύκλῳ
2 γυμνοὺς περιϊέναι τὴν ἀγοράν, οἱ δὲ περιϊόντες ᾖδον εἰς αὑτοὺς ᾠδήν τινα πεποιημένην, ὡς δίκαια πάσχοιεν, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις ἀπειθοῦσι· τιμῆς δὲ καὶ θεραπείας ἦν νέοι πρεσβυτέροις παρεῖχον, ἐστέρηντο. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πρὸς Δερκυλλίδαν ῥηθὲν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο, καίπερ εὐδόκιμον ὄντα στρατηγόν. ἐπιόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν νεωτέρων τις ἕδρας οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν, εἰπών, "Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ τὸν ὑπείξοντα γεγέννηκας."
3 Ἐγάμουν δὲ δι' ἁρπαγῆς, οὐ μικρὰς οὐδὲ ἀώρους πρὸς γάμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμαζούσας καὶ πεπείρους. τὴν δὲ ἁρπασθεῖσαν ἡ νυμφεύτρια καλουμένη παραλαβοῦσα, τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν χρῷ περιέκειρεν, ἱματίῳ δὲ ἀνδρείῳ καὶ ὑποδήμασιν ἐνσκευάσασα κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ στιβάδα μόνην ἄνευ φωτός. ὁ δὲ νυμφίος οὐ μεθύων οὐδὲ θρυπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ νήφων, ὥσπερ ἀεί, δεδειπνηκὼς ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις, παρεισελθὼν ἔλυε τὴν ζώνην καὶ

ance of the maidens without much clothing in processions and athletic contests where young men were looking on, for these were drawn on by necessity, "not geometrical, but the sort of necessity which lovers know," as Plato says.[1] Nor was this all; Lycurgus also put a kind of public stigma upon confirmed bachelors. They were excluded from the sight of the young men and maidens at their exercises, and in winter the magistrates ordered them to march round the market-place in their tunics only, and as they marched, they sang a certain song about themselves, and its burden was that they were justly punished for disobeying the laws. Besides this, they were deprived of the honour and gracious attentions which the young men habitually paid to their elders. Therefore there was no one to find fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, reputable general though he was. As he entered a company, namely, one of the younger men would not offer him his seat, but said: "Indeed, thou hast begotten no son who will one day give his seat to me."

For their marriages the women were carried off by force, not when they were small and unfit for wedlock, but when they were in full bloom and wholly ripe. After the woman was thus carried off, the bride's-maid, so called, took her in charge, cut her hair off close to the head, put a man's cloak and sandals on her, and laid her down on a pallet, on the floor, alone, in the dark. Then the bride-groom, not flown with wine nor enfeebled by excesses, but composed and sober, after supping at his public mess-table as usual, slipped stealthily into the room where the bride lay, loosed her virgin's zone, and bore her

[1] *Republic*, p. 458 d.

4 μετήνεγκεν ἀράμενος ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην. συνδιατρίψας δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἀπῄει κοσμίως οὕπερ εἰώθει τὸ πρότερον, καθευδήσων μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νέων. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἔπραττε, τοῖς μὲν ἡλικιώταις συνδιημερεύων καὶ συναναπαυόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τὴν νύμφην κρύφα μετ' εὐλαβείας φοιτῶν, αἰσχυνόμενος καὶ δεδοικὼς μή τις αἴσθοιτο τῶν ἔνδον, ἅμα καὶ τῆς νύμφης ἐπιτεχνωμένης καὶ συνευπορούσης ὅπως ἂν ἐν καιρῷ καὶ λανθάνοντες
5 ἀλλήλοις συμπορεύοιντο. καὶ τοῦτο ἔπραττον οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὥστε καὶ παῖδας γενέσθαι ἐνίοις πρὶν ἐς ἡμέραν θεάσασθαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας. ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη σύνοδος οὐ μόνον ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης ἄσκησις ἦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε σώμασι γονίμους καὶ τῷ φιλεῖν ἀεὶ καινοὺς καὶ προσφάτους ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐ διακορεῖς οὐδ' ἐξιτήλους ταῖς ἀνέδην κοινωνίαις, ἀλλ' ἀεί τι λείψανον καὶ ὑπέκκαυμα πόθου καὶ χάριτος ἐναπολείποντας ἀλλήλοις.

6 Τοσαύτην δὲ τοῖς γάμοις ἐπιστήσας αἰδῶ καὶ 49
τάξιν, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐξέβαλε τὴν κενὴν καὶ γυναικώδη ζηλοτυπίαν, ἐν καλῷ καταστήσας ὕβριν μὲν καὶ ἀναξίαν πᾶσαν εἴργειν ἀπὸ τοῦ γάμου, παίδων δὲ καὶ τεκνώσεως κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις, καταγελῶντας τῶν ὡς ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινώνητα
7 ταῦτα μετιόντων σφαγαῖς καὶ πολέμοις. ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ νέας γυναικός, εἰ δή τινα τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀσπάσαιτο νέων καὶ δοκιμάσειεν, εἰσαγαγεῖν παρ' αὐτὴν καὶ πλήσαντα γενναίου σπέρματος ἴδιον αὐτοῖς ποιή-

in his arms to the marriage-bed. Then, after spending a short time with his bride, he went away composedly to his usual quarters, there to sleep with the other young men. And so he continued to do from that time on, spending his days with his comrades, and sleeping with them at night, but visiting his bride by stealth and with every precaution, full of dread and fear lest any of her household should be aware of his visits, his bride also contriving and conspiring with him that they might have stolen interviews as occasion offered. And this they did not for a short time only, but long enough for some of them to become fathers before they had looked upon their own wives by daylight. Such interviews not only brought into exercise self-restraint and moderation, but united husbands and wives when their bodies were full of creative energy and their affections new and fresh, not when they were sated and dulled by unrestricted intercourse; and there was always left behind in their hearts some residual spark of mutual longing and delight.

After giving marriage such traits of reserve and decorum, he none the less freed men from the empty and womanish passion of jealous possession, by making it honourable for them, while keeping the marriage relation free from all wanton irregularities, to share with other worthy men in the begetting of children, laughing to scorn those who regard such common privileges as intolerable, and resort to murder and war rather than grant them. For example, an elderly man with a young wife, if he looked with favour and esteem on some fair and noble young man, might introduce him to her, and adopt her offspring by such a noble father as his

σασθαι τὸ γεννηθέν. ἐξῆν δὲ πάλιν ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ, τῶν εὐτέκνων τινὰ καὶ σωφρόνων θαυμάσαντι γυναικῶν ἑτέρῳ γεγαμημένην, πεῖσαι τὸν ἄνδρα συνελθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν χώρᾳ καλλικάρπῳ φυτεύοντα καὶ ποιούμενον παῖδας ἀγαθούς, ἀγα-
8 θῶν ὁμαίμους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐσομένους. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἰδίους ἡγεῖτο τῶν πατέρων τοὺς παῖδας, ἀλλὰ κοινοὺς τῆς πόλεως ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ὅθεν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐβούλετο γεγονότας εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας. ἔπειτα πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν καὶ τῦφον ἐνεώρα τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἄλλων νομοθετήμασιν, οἳ κύνας μὲν καὶ ἵππους ὑπὸ τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν ὀχείων βιβάζουσι χάριτι πείθοντες ἢ μισθῷ τοὺς κυρίους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐγκλείσαμενοι φρουροῦσιν, ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνων τίκτειν ἀξιοῦντες, κἂν ἄφρονες
9 ὦσι, κἂν παρήλικες, κἂν νοσώδεις, ὡς οὐχὶ πρώτοις τοῖς κεκτημένοις καὶ τρέφουσι τῶν παίδων γινομένων πονηρῶν, ἐὰν ἐκ πονηρῶν γένωνται, καὶ τοὐναντίον χρηστῶν, ἂν τοιαύτης τύχωσι γενέσεως. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτως πραττόμενα φυσικῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς τότε τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχε τῆς ὕστερον λεγομένης γενέσθαι περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εὐχερείας ὥστε ὅλως ἄπιστον εἶναι τὸ τῆς μοιχείας παρ'
10 αὐτοῖς. καὶ λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται Γεράδα τινὸς Σπαρτιάτου τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν, ὃς ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ ξένου τί πάσχουσιν οἱ μοιχοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς,

own. And again, a worthy man who admired some woman for the fine children that she bore her husband and the modesty of her behaviour as a wife, might enjoy her favours, if her husband would consent, thus planting, as it were, in a soil of beautiful fruitage, and begetting for himself noble sons, who would have the blood of noble men in their veins. For in the first place, Lycurgus did not regard sons as the peculiar property of their fathers, but rather as the common property of the state, and therefore would not have his citizens spring from random parentage, but from the best there was. In the second place, he saw much folly and vanity in what other peoples enacted for the regulation of these matters; in the breeding of dogs and horses they insist on having the best sires which money or favour can secure, but they keep their wives under lock and key, demanding that they have children by none but themselves, even though they be foolish, or infirm, or diseased; as though children of bad stock did not show their badness to those first who possessed and reared them, and children of good stock, contrariwise, their goodness. The freedom which thus prevailed at that time in marriage relations was aimed at physical and political well-being, and was far removed from the licentiousness which was afterwards attributed to their women, so much so that adultery was wholly unknown among them. And a saying is reported of one Geradas,[1] a Spartan of very ancient type, who, on being asked by a stranger what the punishment for adulterers was among them, answered: "Stranger,

[1] The name is Geradatas in *Morals*, p. 228 c (*Apophthegm. Lacon.* 20).

εἶπεν· "Ὦ ξένε, οὐδεὶς γίνεται μοιχὸς παρ' ἡμῖν." ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπολαβόντος, "Ἐὰν οὖν γένηται;" "Ταῦρον," ἔφη ὁ Γεράδας, "ἐκτίνει μέγαν, ὃς ὑπερκύψας τὸ Ταΰγετον ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα πίεται." θαυμάσαντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ φήσαντος· "Πῶς δὲ ἂν γένοιτο βοῦς τηλικοῦτος;" γελάσας ὁ Γεράδας, "Πῶς δ' ἄν," ἔφη, "ἐν Σπάρτῃ μοιχὸς γένοιτο;" ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστόρηται περὶ τῶν γάμων.

XVI. Τὸ δὲ γεννηθὲν οὐκ ἦν κύριος ὁ γεννήσας τρέφειν, ἀλλ' ἔφερε λαβὼν εἰς τόπον τινὰ λέσχην καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ καθήμενοι τῶν φυλετῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καταμαθόντες τὸ παιδάριον, εἰ μὲν εὐπαγὲς εἴη καὶ ῥωμαλέον, τρέφειν ἐκέλευον, κλῆρον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐνακισχιλίων προσνείμαντες· εἰ δ' ἀγεννὲς καὶ ἄμορφον, ἀπέπεμπον εἰς τὰς λεγομένας Ἀποθέτας, παρὰ Ταΰγετον βαραθρώ-
2 δη τόπον, ὡς οὔτε αὐτῷ ζῆν ἄμεινον ὂν[1] οὔτε τῇ πόλει τὸ μὴ καλῶς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην πέφυκός. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ὕδατι τὰ βρέφη, ἀλλ' οἴνῳ περιέλουον αἱ γυναῖκες, βάσανόν τινα ποιούμεναι τῆς κράσεως αὐτῶν. λέγεται γὰρ ἐξίστασθαι τὰ ἐπιληπτικὰ καὶ νοσώδη πρὸς τὸν ἄκρατον ἀποσφακελίζοντα, τὰ δ' ὑγιεινὰ μᾶλλον στομοῦσθαι καὶ κρατύνεσθαι τὴν
3 ἕξιν. ἦν δὲ περὶ τὰς τροφοὺς ἐπιμέλειά τις μετὰ τέχνης, ὥστ' ἄνευ σπαργάνων ἐκτρεφούσας τὰ βρέφη τοῖς μέλεσι καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσιν ἐλευθέρια ποιεῖν, ἔτι δὲ εὔκολα ταῖς διαίταις καὶ ἄσικχα καὶ ἀθαμβῆ σκότου καὶ πρὸς ἐρημίαν ἄφοβα καὶ

[1] ὂν supplied by van Herwerden : ἄμεινον οὔτε.

there is no adulterer among us." "Suppose, then," replied the stranger, "there should be one." "A bull," said Geradas, "would be his forfeit, a bull so large that it could stretch over Mount Taÿgetus and drink from the river Eurotas." Then the stranger was astonished and said: "But how could there be a bull so large?" To which Geradas replied, with a smile: "But how could there be an adulterer in Sparta?" Such, then, are the accounts we find of their marriages.

XVI. Offspring was not reared at the will of the father, but was taken and carried by him to a place called Lesche, where the elders of the tribes officially examined the infant, and if it was well-built and sturdy, they ordered the father to rear it, and assigned it one of the nine thousand lots of land; but if it was ill-born and deformed, they sent it to the so-called Apothetae, a chasm-like place at the foot of Mount Taÿgetus, in the conviction that the life of that which nature had not well equipped at the very beginning for health and strength, was of no advantage either to itself or the state. On the same principle, the women used to bathe their new-born babes not with water, but with wine, thus making a sort of test of their constitutions. For it is said that epileptic and sickly infants are thrown into convulsions by the strong wine and loose their senses, while the healthy ones are rather tempered by it, like steel, and given a firm habit of body. Their nurses, too, exercised great care and skill; they reared infants without swaddling-bands, and thus left their limbs and figures free to develop; besides, they taught them to be contented and happy, not dainty about their food, nor fearful of the dark, nor afraid to be left alone,

ἄπειρα δυσκολίας ἀγεννοῦς καὶ κλαυθμυρισμῶν. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἔνιοι τοῖς τέκνοις Λακωνικὰς ἐωνοῦντο τίτθας· καὶ τήν γε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἀλκιβιάδην τιτθεύσασαν Ἀμύκλαν ἱστοροῦσι γεγονέναι Λάκαιναν.

4 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μέν, ὡς Πλάτων φησί, Ζώπυρον ἐπέστησε παιδαγωγὸν Περικλῆς, οὐδέν τι τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντα δούλων· τοὺς δὲ Σπαρτιατῶν 50 παῖδας οὐκ ἐπὶ ὠνητοῖς οὐδὲ μισθίοις ἐποιήσατο παιδαγωγοῖς ὁ Λυκοῦργος, οὐδ' ἐξῆν ἑκάστῳ τρέφειν οὐδὲ παιδεύειν ὡς ἐβούλετο τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλὰ πάντας εὐθὺς ἑπταετεῖς γενομένους παραλαμβάνων αὐτὸς εἰς ἀγέλας κατελόχιζε, καὶ συννόμους ποιῶν καὶ συντρόφους μετ' ἀλλήλων
5 εἴθιζε συμπαίζειν καὶ συσχολάζειν. ἄρχοντα δ' αὐτοῖς παρίστατο τῆς ἀγέλης τὸν τῷ φρονεῖν διαφέροντα καὶ θυμοειδέστατον ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀφεώρων καὶ προστάττοντος ἠκροῶντο καὶ κολάζοντος ἐκαρτέρουν, ὥστε τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην εὐπειθείας. ἐπεσκόπουν δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παίζοντας αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μάχας τινὰς ἐμβάλλοντες ἀεὶ καὶ φιλονεικίας, οὐ παρέργως κατεμάνθανον ὁποῖός ἐστι τὴν φύσιν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ τολμᾶν καὶ μὴ φυγομαχεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἀμίλλαις.

6 Γράμματα μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα τῆς χρείας ἐμάνθανον· [illegible]σα παιδεία πρὸς τὸ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς [illegible]τερεῖν πονοῦντα καὶ νικᾶν μαχό[illegible]ῆς ἡλικίας προερχομένης ἐπέ[illegible]σκησιν, ἐν χρῷ τε κείροντες

nor given to contemptible peevishness and whimpering. This is the reason why foreigners sometimes bought Spartan nurses for their children. Amycla, for instance, the nurse of the Athenian Alcibiades, is said to have been a Spartan.[1]

And yet Alcibiades, as Plato says,[2] had for a tutor, set over him by Pericles, one Zopyrus, who was just a common slave. But Lycurgus would not put the sons of Spartans in charge of purchased or hired tutors, nor was it lawful for every father to rear or train his son as he pleased, but as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them all to be taken by the state and enrolled in companies, where they were put under the same discipline and nurture, and so became accustomed to share one another's sports and studies. The boy who excelled in judgement and was most courageous in fighting, was made captain of his company; on him the rest all kept their eyes, obeying his orders, and submitting to his punishments, so that their boyish training was a practice of obedience. Besides, the elderly men used to watch their sports, and by ever and anon egging them on to mimic battles and disputes, learned accurately how each one of them was naturally disposed when it was a question of boldness and aggressiveness in their struggles.

Of reading and writing, they learned only enough to serve their turn; all the rest of their training was calculated to make them obey commands well, endure hardships, and conquer in battle. Therefore, as they grew in age, their bodily exercise was increased; their heads were close-clipped, and they

[1] Cf. *Alcibiades* i. 2. [2] *Alcibiades* i. p. 122 b.

καὶ βαδίζειν ἀνυποδήτους παίζειν τε γυμνοὺς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ συνεθίζοντες. γενόμενοι δὲ δωδεκαετεῖς ἄνευ χιτῶνος ἤδη διετέλουν, ἓν ἱμάτιον εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λαμβάνοντες, αὐχμηροὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἀλειμμάτων ἄπειροι· πλὴν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τινὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης φιλαν-
7 θρωπίας μετεῖχον. ἐκάθευδον δὲ ὁμοῦ κατ' ἴλην καὶ ἀγέλην ἐπὶ στιβάδων, ἃς αὐτοῖς συνεφόρουν, τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Εὐρώταν πεφυκότος καλάμου τὰ ἄκρα ταῖς χερσὶν ἄνευ σιδήρου κατακλάσαντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι τοὺς λεγομένους λυκόφονας ὑπεβάλλοντο καὶ κατεμίγνυσαν ταῖς στιβάσι, θερμαντικὸν ἔχειν τι τῆς ὕλης δοκούσης.

XVII. Ἤδη δὲ τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐρασταὶ τῶν εὐδοκίμων νέων συνανεστρέφοντο· καὶ προσεῖχον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιφοιτῶντες εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια, καὶ μαχομένοις καὶ σκώπτουσιν ἀλλήλους παρατυγχάνοντες, οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ πάντες οἰόμενοι πάντων καὶ πατέρες εἶναι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ ἄρχοντες, ὥστε μήτε καιρὸν ἀπολείπεσθαι μήτε χωρίον ἔρημον τοῦ νουθετοῦντος τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα καὶ κολάζοντος.
2 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδονόμος ἐκ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐτάττετο, καὶ κατ' ἀγέλας αὐτοὶ προϊσταντο τῶν λεγομένων εἰρένων ἀεὶ τὸν σωφρονέστατον καὶ μαχιμώτατον. εἴρενας δὲ καλοῦσι τοὺς ἔτος ἤδη δεύτερον ἐκ παίδων γεγονότας, μελλείρενας δὲ τῶν παίδων τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους. οὗτος οὖν ὁ εἴρην, εἴκοσι ἔτη γεγονώς, ἄρχει τε τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, καὶ κατ'

were accustomed to going bare-foot, and to playing for the most part without clothes. When they were twelve years old, they no longer had tunics to wear, received one cloak a year, had hard, dry flesh, and knew little of baths and ointments; only on certain days of the year, and few at that, did they indulge in such amenities. They slept together, in troops and companies, on pallet-beds which they collected for themselves, breaking off with their hands—no knives allowed—the tops of the rushes which grew along the river Eurotas. In the winter-time, they added to the stuff of these pallets the so-called "lycophon," or *thistle-down*, which was thought to have warmth in it.

XVII. When the boys reached this age, they were favoured with the society of lovers from among the reputable young men. The elderly men also kept close watch of them, coming more frequently to their places of exercise, and observing their contests of strength and wit, not cursorily, but with the idea that they were all in a sense the fathers and tutors and governors of all the boys. In this way, at every fitting time and in every place, the boy who went wrong had someone to admonish and chastise him. Nor was this all; one of the noblest and best men of the city was appointed paedonome, or inspector of the boys, and under his directions the boys, in their several companies, put themselves under the command of the most prudent and warlike of the so-called Eirens. This was the name given to those who had been for two years out of the class of boys, and Melleirens, or *Would-be Eirens*, was the name for the oldest of the boys. This eiren, then, a youth of twenty years, commands his subordinates in their

3 οἶκον ὑπηρέταις χρῆται πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐπιτάσσει δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἁδροῖς ξύλα φέρειν, τοῖς δὲ μικροτέροις λάχανα. καὶ φέρουσι κλέπτοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς κήπους βαδίζοντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν συσσίτια παρεισρέοντες εὖ μάλα πανούργως καὶ πεφυλαγμένως· ἂν δ' ἁλῷ, πολλὰς λαμβάνει πληγὰς τῇ μάστιγι, ῥᾳθύμως δοκῶν κλέπτειν καὶ ἀτέχνως. κλέπτουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν σιτίων ὅ τι ἂν δύνωνται, μανθάνοντες εὐφυῶς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς καθεύδουσιν ἢ ῥᾳθύμως φυλάτ-
4 τουσι. τῷ δὲ ἁλόντι ζημία πληγαὶ καὶ τὸ πεινῆν. γλίσχρον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐστι δεῖπνον, ὅπως δι' αὐτῶν ἀμυνόμενοι τὴν ἔνδειαν ἀναγκάζωνται τολμᾶν καὶ πανουργεῖν.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔργον τῆς ὀλιγοσιτίας· παρέργον δέ φασι τὴν τῶν σωμάτων αὔξησιν. φέρεται γὰρ εἰς μῆκος, ὅταν τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ πολλὴν σχῇ διατριβὴν καὶ ἀσχολίαν ὑπὸ πλήθους τροφῆς εἰς βάθος καὶ πλάτος πιεζόμενον, ἀλλ' ἄνω βα- 51
5 δίζῃ διὰ κουφότητα, τοῦ σώματος ἐκλύτως καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἐπιδιδόντος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ καλοὺς δοκεῖ ποιεῖν· αἱ γὰρ ἰσχναὶ καὶ διάκενοι μᾶλλον ἕξεις ὑπακούουσι πρὸς τὴν διάρθρωσιν, αἱ δὲ ὀγκώδεις καὶ πολύτροφοι διὰ βάρος ἀντιβαίνουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κύειν καθαιρομένων γυναικῶν ἰσχνὰ μέν, εὐειδῆ δὲ καὶ γλαφυρὰ γίνεται τὰ βρέφη, διὰ τὴν ἐλαφρότητα τῆς ὕλης κρατουμένης μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυποῦντος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν αἰτία τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ἐν μέσῳ προκείσθω σκοπεῖν.

XVIII. Οὕτω δὲ κλέπτουσι πεφροντισμένως οἱ παῖδες, ὥστε λέγεταί τις ἤδη σκύμνον ἀλώ-

mimic battles, and in doors makes them serve him at his meals. He commissions the larger ones to fetch wood, and the smaller ones potherbs. And they steal what they fetch, some of them entering the gardens, and others creeping right slyly and cautiously into the public messes of the men ; but if a boy is caught stealing, he is soundly flogged, as a careless and unskilful thief. They steal, too, whatever food they can, and learn to be adept in setting upon people when asleep or off their guard. But the boy who is caught gets a flogging and must go hungry. For the meals allowed them are scanty, in order that they may take into their own hands the fight against hunger, and so be forced into boldness and cunning.

This is the main object of their spare diet ; a secondary one is to make them grow tall. For it contributes to height of stature when the vitality is not impeded and hindered by a mass of nourishment which forces it into thickness and width, but ascends of its own lightness, and when the body grows freely and easily. The same thing seems also to conduce to beauty of form ; for lean and meagre habits yield more readily to the force of articulation, whereas the gross and over-fed are so heavy as to resist it. Just so, we may be sure, women who take physic while they are pregnant, bear children which are lean, it may be, but well-shaped and fine, because the lightness of the parent matter makes it more susceptible to moulding. However, the reason for this I must leave for others to investigate.

XVIII. The boys make such a serious matter of their stealing, that one of them, as the story goes,

πεκος κεκλοφὼς καὶ τῷ τριβωνίῳ περιστέλλων, σπαρασσόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θηρίου τὴν γαστέρα τοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἐγκαρτερῶν ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐφήβων ἄπιστόν ἐστιν, ὧν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Ὀρθίας ἑωράκαμεν ἐναποθνήσκοντας ταῖς πληγαῖς.

2 Δειπνήσας δὲ ὁ εἴρην κατακείμενος τῷ μὲν ᾄσαι προσέταξε τῶν παίδων, τῷ δὲ ἐρώτημά τι προὔβαλε πεφροντισμένης δεόμενον ἀποκρίσεως· οἷον, ὅστις ἄριστος ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἢ ποία τις ἡ τοῦδε πρᾶξις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ κρίνειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθίζοντο περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν. τὸ γὰρ ἐρωτηθέντα, τίς πολίτης ἀγαθός, ἢ τίς οὐκ εὐδόκιμος, ἀπορεῖν τοῦ ἀποκρίνασθαι, νωθρᾶς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πρὸς
3 ἀρετὴν ἀφιλοτίμου ψυχῆς σημεῖον. ἔδει δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ[1] μετ' αἰτίας εἶναι καὶ ἀποδείξεως εἰς βραχύν τινα συνηγμένης λόγον καὶ σύντομον· ὁ δὲ πλημμελῶς ἀποκρινάμενος ἐκολάζετο δῆγμα λαμβάνων ὑπὸ τοῦ εἴρενος εἰς τὸν ἀντίχειρα. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πρεσβυτέρων παρόντων καὶ ἀρχόντων ὁ εἴρην ἐκόλαζε τοὺς παῖδας, ἀπόδειξιν διδοὺς εἰ μετὰ λόγου καὶ ὡς δεῖ κολάζει. καὶ κολάζων μὲν οὐκ ἐκωλύετο, τῶν δὲ παίδων ἀπελθόντων εὐθύνας ὑπεῖχεν, εἰ τραχύτερον τοῦ δέοντος ἐπετίμησεν ἢ τοὐναντίον ἐκλελυμένως καὶ ἀτόνως.

4 Ἐκοινώνουν δὲ οἱ ἐρασταὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῆς δόξης ἐπ' ἀμφότερα· καὶ λέγεταί ποτε παιδὸς ἐν τῷ

[1] *τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ* Coraës, Sintenis[1], and Bekker, with the MSS. : *καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν.*

who was carrying concealed under his cloak a young fox which he had stolen, suffered the animal to tear out his bowels with its teeth and claws, and died rather than have his theft detected. And even this story gains credence from what their youths now endure, many of whom I have seen expiring under the lash at the altar of Artemis Orthia.

The eiren, as he reclined after supper, would order one of the boys to sing a song, and to another would put a question requiring a careful and deliberate answer, as, for instance, "Who is the best man in the city?" or, "What thinkest thou of this man's conduct?" In this way the boys were accustomed to pass right judgements and interest themselves at the very outset in the conduct of the citizens. For if one of them was asked who was a good citizen, or who an infamous one, and had no answer to make, he was judged to have a torpid spirit, and one that would not aspire to excellence. And the answer must not only have reasons and proof given for it, but also be couched in very brief and concise language, and the one who gave a faulty answer was punished with a bite in the thumb from the eiren. Often-times, too, the eiren punished the boys in the presence of the elders and magistrates, thus showing whether his punishments were reasonable and proper or not. While he was punishing them, he suffered no restraint, but after the boys were gone, he was brought to an account if his punishments were harsher than was necessary, or, on the other hand, too mild and gentle.

The boys' lovers also shared with them in their honour or disgrace; and it is said that one of them

μάχεσθαι φωνὴν ἀγεννῆ προεμένου ζημιωθῆναι τὸν ἐραστὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ ἐρᾶν ἐγκεκριμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ τῶν παρθένων ἐρᾶν τὰς καλὰς καὶ ἀγαθὰς γυναῖκας, τὸ ἀντερᾶν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀρχὴν ἐποιοῦντο φιλίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐρασθέντες, καὶ διετέλουν κοινῇ σπουδάζοντες ὅπως ἄριστον ἀπεργάσαιντο τὸν ἐρώμενον.

XIX. Ἐδίδασκον δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πικρίαν ἔχοντι μεμιγμένην χάριτι καὶ παλλὴν ἀπὸ βραχείας λέξεως ἀναθεώρησιν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σιδηροῦν νόμισμα μικρὰν ἔχειν ἐποίησεν ἀπὸ πολλοῦ σταθμοῦ δύναμιν ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ὡς εἴρηται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου νόμισμα τοὐναντίον ἀπ' εὐτελοῦς καὶ ὀλίγης λέξεως εἰς πολλὴν καὶ περιττὴν κατεσκεύασε διάνοιαν, τῇ πολλῇ σιωπῇ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποφθεγματικοὺς καὶ πεπαιδευμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις μηχανώμενος. ὡς γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ἀκολάστων ἄγονον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἄκαρπόν ἐστιν, οὕτως ἡ πρὸς τὸ λαλεῖν ἀκρασία κενὸν τὸν λόγον ποιεῖ
2 καὶ ἀνόητον. Ἄγις μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, σκώπτοντος Ἀττικοῦ τινος τὰς Λακωνικὰς μαχαίρας εἰς τὴν μικρότητα, καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι ῥᾳδίως αὐτὰς οἱ θαυματοποιοὶ καταπίνουσιν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, "Καὶ μὴν μάλιστα," εἶπεν, "ἡμεῖς ἐφικνούμεθα τοῖς ἐγχειριδίοις τῶν πολεμίων·" ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν λόγον ὁρῶ τὸν Λακωνικὸν βραχὺν μὲν εἶναι δοκοῦντα, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐφικνούμενον, καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἁπτόμενον τῶν ἀκροωμένων.
3 Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λυκοῦργος αὐτὸς βραχυλόγος

was once fined by the magistrates because his favourite boy had let an ungenerous cry escape him while he was fighting. Moreover, though this sort of love was so approved among them that even the maidens found lovers in good and noble women, still, there was no jealous rivalry in it, but those who fixed their affections on the same boys made this rather a foundation for friendship with one another, and persevered in common efforts to make their loved one as noble as possible.

XIX. The boys were also taught to use a discourse which combined pungency with grace, and condensed much observation into a few words. His iron money, indeed, Lycurgus made of large weight and small value, as I have observed,[1] but the current coin of discourse he adapted to the expression of deep and abundant meaning with simple and brief diction, by contriving that the general habit of silence should make the boys sententious and correct in their answers. For as sexual incontinence generally produces unfruitfulness and sterility, so intemperance in talking makes discourse empty and vapid. King Agis, accordingly, when a certain Athenian decried the Spartan swords for being so short, and said that jugglers on the stage easily swallowed them, replied: "And yet we certainly reach our enemies with these daggers." And I observe that although the speech also of the Spartans seems short, yet it certainly reaches the point, and arrests the thought of the listener.

And indeed Lycurgus himself seems to have been

[1] Chapter ix. 1.

τις ἔοικε γενέσθαι καὶ ἀποφθεγματικός, εἰ δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν· οἷόν ἐστι τὸ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας πρὸς τὸν ἀξιοῦντα ποιεῖν δημοκρατίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει· "Σὺ γάρ," ἔφη, "πρῶτος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποίησον δημοκρατίαν." καὶ περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί μικρὰς οὕτω καὶ εὐτελεῖς ἔταξεν, "Ἵνα μή ποτε," 4 ἔφη, "τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον διαλίπωμεν." καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀθλημάτων, ταῦτα μόνα μὴ κωλύσαντος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας ἐν οἷς χεὶρ οὐκ ἀνατείνεται. φέρονται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἀποκρίσεις τοιαῦται πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας. πῶς ἂν πολεμίων ἔφοδον ἀλεξοίμεθα; "Ἂν πτωχοὶ μένητε καὶ μὴ μέσδων ἄτερος θατέρῳ ἐράτε ἦμεν." καὶ πάλιν περὶ τῶν τειχῶν· "Οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἀτείχιστος πόλις ἄτις ἄνδρεσσι,[1] καὶ οὐ πλίνθοις ἐστεφάνωται." περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν οὔτε ἀπιστῆσαι ῥᾴδιον οὔτε πιστεῦσαι.

XX. Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὰ μήκη τῶν λόγων διαβολῆς δείγματα τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων ἐστί. Λεωνίδας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκαίρως τινὸς περὶ πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀχρήστων διαλεχθέντος, "Ὦ ξένε," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐν δέοντι χρέῃ τῷ δέοντι." Χαρίλαος δὲ ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς τοῦ Λυκούργου περὶ τῆς ὀλιγότητος αὐτοῦ τῶν νόμων ἐρωτηθείς, εἶπεν ὡς οἱ λόγοις μὴ χρώμενοι πολλοῖς οὐδὲ νόμων δέονται πολλῶν. 2 Ἀρχιδαμίδας δὲ μεμφομένων τινῶν Ἑκαταῖον τὸν σοφιστὴν ὅτι παραληφθεὶς εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον οὐδὲν ἔλεγεν, "Ὁ εἰδώς," ἔφη, "λόγον καὶ καιρὸν οἶδεν." ἃ δὲ τῶν πικρῶν ἔφην ἀπομνημονευμάτων οὐκ

[1] ἄνδρεσσι Cobet ; ἀνδρείοις.

short and sententious in his speech, if we may judge from his recorded sayings; that, for instance, on forms of government, to one who demanded the establishment of democracy in the city: "Go thou," said he, "and first establish democracy in thy household." That, again, to one who inquired why he ordained such small and inexpensive sacrifices: "That we may never omit," said he, "to honour the gods." Again, in the matter of athletic contests, he allowed the citizens to engage only in those where there was no stretching forth of hands.[1] There are also handed down similar answers which he made by letter to his fellow-citizens. When they asked how they could ward off an invasion of enemies, he answered: "By remaining poor, and by not desiring to be greater the one than the other." And when they asked about fortifying their city, he answered: "A city will be well fortified which is surrounded by brave men and not by bricks." Now regarding these and similar letters, belief and scepticism are alike difficult.

XX. Of their aversion to long speeches, the following apophthegms are proof. King Leonidas, when a certain one discoursed with him out of all season on matters of great concern, said: "My friend, the matter urges, but not the time." Charilaüs, the nephew of Lycurgus, when asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered: "Men of few words need few laws." Archidamidas, when certain ones found fault with Hecataeus the Sophist for saying nothing after being admitted to their public mess, answered: "He who knows how, knows also when to speak." Instances of the pungent sayings

[1] After the manner of men begging their conquerors to spare their lives.

ἀμοιρεῖν χάριτος, τοιαῦτ' ἐστί. Δημάρατος ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ κόπτοντος αὐτὸν ἀκαίροις ἐρωτήμασι καὶ δὴ τοῦτο πολλάκις ἐρωτῶντος, "Τίς ἄριστος Σπαρτιατῶν;" ἔφη· "Ὁ τὶν ἀνομοιότατος."

3 Ἄγις δέ, ἐπαινούντων τινῶν τοὺς Ἠλείους ὡς καλῶς τὰ Ὀλύμπια καὶ δικαίως ἄγοντας, "Καὶ τί μέγα," ἔφη, "Ἠλεῖοι ποιοῦντι δι' ἐτῶν πέντε ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ χρώμενοι τᾷ δικαιοσύνᾳ;" Θεόπομπος δὲ ξενου τινὸς εὔνοιαν ἐνδεικνυμένου, καὶ φάσκοντος ὡς παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις φιλολάκων καλεῖται, "Κάλλιον[1] ἦν τοι," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένε, φιλο-

4 πολίταν καλεῖσθαι." Πλειστῶναξ δὲ ὁ Παυσανίου, ῥήτορος Ἀθηναίου τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀμαθεῖς ἀποκαλοῦντος, "Ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις· μόνοι γὰρ Ἑλλάνων ἄμμες οὐδὲν κακὸν μεμαθήκαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν." Ἀρχιδαμίδας δὲ πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον πόσοι εἰσὶ Σπαρτιᾶται, "Ἱκανοί," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένε, τοὺς κακοὺς ἀπερύκειν."

5 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰρημένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν τεκμήρασθαι τὸν ἐθισμόν. εἰθίζοντο γὰρ μηδέποτε χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ παρέργως, μηδὲ ἀφιέναι φωνὴν ἥτις οὐκ ἀμῶς γέ πως εἶχέ τινος θεωρίας ἀξίαν διάνοιαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ μιμουμένου τὴν ἀηδόνα παρακαλούμενος, "Αὐτᾶς," ἔφη, "ἄκουκα τήνας." ὁ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο·

Σβεννύντας ποτὲ τούσδε τυραννίδα χάλκεος Ἄρης
εἶλε· Σελινοῦντος δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔθανον,

[1] κάλλιον Cobet, van Herwerden; cf. κρεῖσσον *Morals*, p. 221 e: καλὸν (*it were well*).

not devoid of grace, of which I spoke,[1] are the following. Demaratus, when a troublesome fellow was pestering him with ill-timed questions, and especially with the oft repeated query who was the best of the Spartans, answered at last: "He who is least like thee." And Agis, when certain ones were praising the Eleians for their just and honourable conduct of the Olympic games, said: "And what great matter is it for the Eleians to practise righteousness one day in five years?" And Theopompus, when a stranger kept saying, as he showed him kindness, that in his own city he was called a lover of Sparta, remarked: "My good Sir, it were better for thee to be called a lover of thine own city." And Pleistoanax, the son of Pausanias, when an Athenian orator declared that the Lacedaemonians had no learning, said: "True, we are indeed the only Hellenes who have learned no evil from you." And Archidamus, when some one asked him how many Spartans there were, replied: "Enough, good Sir, to keep evil men away."

And even from their jests it is possible to judge of their character. For it was their wont never to talk at random, and to let slip no speech which had not have some thought or other worth serious attention. For instance, when one of them was invited to hear a man imitate the nightingale, he said: "I have heard the bird herself." And another, on reading the epitaph:—

"Tyranny's fires they were trying to quench when panoplied Ares
Slew them; Selinus looked down from her gates on their death,"

[1] Chapter xix. 1.

"Δικαίως," εἶπε, "τεθνάκαντι τοὶ ἄνδρες· ἔδει γὰρ
6 ἀφέμεν ὅλαν αὐτὰν κατακαᾶμεν." νεανίσκος δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτῷ δώσειν ἀλεκτρυόνας ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι, "Μὴ σύ γε," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ δός μοι τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι." ἕτερος δέ τις ἰδὼν ἐν ἀποχωρήσει θακεύοντας ἐπὶ δίφρων ἀνθρώπους, "Μὴ γένοιτο," εἶπεν, "ἐνταῦθα καθίσαι ὅθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεξαναστῆναι πρεσβυτέρῳ." τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων εἶδος ἦν τοιοῦτον ὥστε καὶ λέγειν τινὰς οὐκ ἀτόπως ὅτι μᾶλλόν ἐστι τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ἢ τὸ φιλογυμναστεῖν λακωνίζειν.

XXI. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς ᾠδὰς καὶ τὰ μέλη παί- 5
δευσις οὐχ ἧττον ἐσπουδάζετο τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις εὐζηλίας καὶ καθαριότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέλη κέντρον εἶχεν ἐγερτικὸν θυμοῦ καὶ παραστατικὸν ὁρμῆς ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ πραγματικῆς, καὶ ἡ λέξις ἦν ἀφελὴς καὶ ἄθρυπτος ἐπὶ πράγμασι σεμνοῖς καὶ ἠθοποιοῖς. ἔπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονιζομένων, καὶ ψόγοι τῶν τρεσάντων, ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ κακοδαίμονα βιούντων βίον, ἐπαγγελία τε καὶ μεγαλαυχία πρὸς ἀρετὴν πρέπουσα ταῖς ἡλικίαις·
2 ὧν ἕνεκα δείγματος οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστιν ἕν τι προενέγκασθαι. τριῶν γὰρ χορῶν κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡλικίας συνισταμένων ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, ὁ μὲν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχόμενος ᾖδεν·

Ἄμμες πόκ' ἦμες ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι.

said: "The men deserved to die; they should have let the fires burn out entirely." And a youth, when some one promised to give him game-cocks that would die fighting, said, "Don't do that, but give me some of the kind that kill fighting." Another, seeing men seated on stools in a privy, said: "May I never sit where I cannot give place to an elder." The character of their apophthegms, then, was such as to justify the remark that love of wisdom rather than love of bodily exercise was the special characteristic of a Spartan.

XXI. Nor was their training in music and poetry any less serious a concern than the emulous purity of their speech, nay, their very songs had a stimulus that roused the spirit and awoke enthusiastic and effectual effort; the style of them was simple and unaffected, and their themes were serious and edifying. They were for the most part praises of men who had died for Sparta, calling them blessed and happy; censure of men who had played the coward, picturing their grievous and ill-starred life; and such promises and boasts of valour as befitted the different ages. Of the last, it may not be amiss to cite one, by way of illustration. They had three choirs at their festivals, corresponding to the three ages, and the choir of old men would sing first:—

"We once did deeds of prowess and were strong young men."

ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀμειβόμενος ἔλεγεν·

Ἄμμες δέ γ' εἰμέν· αἱ δὲ λῆς, αὐγάσδεο.[1]

ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὁ τῶν παίδων·

Ἄμμες δέ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῷ κάρρονες.

3 Ὅλως δὲ ἄν τις ἐπιστήσας τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ποιήμασιν, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔνια διεσώζετο, καὶ τοὺς ἐμβατηρίους ῥυθμοὺς ἀναλαβών, οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐπάγοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐ κακῶς ἡγήσαιτο καὶ τὸν Τέρπανδρον καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῇ μουσικῇ συνάπτειν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως πεποίηκε περὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων·

Ἔνθ' αἰχμά τε νέων θάλλει καὶ μοῦσα λίγεια
καὶ δίκα εὐρυάγυια — —

4 Πίνδαρος δέ φησιν·

Ἔνθα βουλαὶ γερόντων
καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύοντι αἰχμαὶ
καὶ χοροὶ καὶ Μοῦσα καὶ ἀγλαΐα.

Μουσικωτάτους γὰρ ἅμα καὶ πολεμικωτάτους ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτούς·

Ῥέπει[2] γὰρ ἄντα τῶ σιδάρω τὸ καλῶς κιθαρίσδεν,

ὡς ὁ Λακωνικὸς ποιητὴς εἴρηκε. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προεθύετο ταῖς Μούσαις ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀναμιμνήσκων, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν

[1] αὐγάσδεο Cobet, as in *Morals*, pp. 238 b, 544 e, and S (first hand): πεῖραν λαβέ (*come take a try*).

[2] Ῥέπει Scaliger's correction of ἔρπει. Cf. Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* iii.[4] p. 51 (Alcman, *Frag.* 35).

Then the choir of young men would respond :—

"We are so now, and if you wish, behold and see."

And then the third choir, that of the boys, would sing :—

"We shall be sometime mightier men by far than both."

In short, if one studies the poetry of Sparta, of which some specimens were still extant in my time, and makes himself familiar with the marching songs which they used, to the accompaniment of the flute, when charging upon their foes, he will conclude that Terpander and Pindar were right in associating valour with music. The former writes thus of the Lacedaemonians :—

"Flourish there both the spear of the brave and the Muse's clear message,
Justice, too, walks the broad streets——."

And Pindar says :—[1]

"There are councils of Elders,
And young men's conquering spears,
And dances, the Muse, and joyousness."

The Spartans are thus shown to be at the same time most musical and most warlike ;

"In equal poise to match the sword hangs the sweet art of the harpist,"

as their poet says. For just before their battles, the king sacrificed to the Muses, reminding his warriors, as it would seem, of their training, and of the firm

[1] Fragment 199, Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* i.[4] p. 448.

κρίσεων, ἵνα ὦσι πρόχειροι παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ λόγου τινὸς ἀξίας παρέχωσι τὰς πράξεις τῶν μαχομένων.

XXII. Τότε δὲ καὶ τοῖς νέοις τὰ σκληρότατα τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐπανιέντες, οὐκ ἐκώλυον καλλωπίζεσθαι περὶ κόμην καὶ κόσμον ὅπλων καὶ ἱματίων, χαίροντες, ὥσπερ ἵπποις, γαυριῶσι καὶ φρυαττομένοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. διὸ κομῶντες εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἡλικίας, μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐθεράπευον τὴν κόμην λιπαράν τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ διακεκριμένην, ἀπομνημονεύοντές τινα καὶ Λυκούργου λόγον περὶ τῆς κόμης, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσ-
2 χροὺς φοβερωτέρους. ἐχρῶντο δὲ καὶ γυμνασίοις μαλακωτέροις παρὰ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν οὐχ οὕτω κεκολασμένην οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς νέοις παρεῖχον, ὥστε μόνοις ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνοις τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκήσεως ἀνάπαυσιν εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἤδη δὲ συντεταγμένης τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παρόντων,[1] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τήν τε χίμαιραν ἐσφαγιάζετο καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι παρήγγελλε πᾶσι καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς αὐλεῖν ἐκέλευε τὸ Καστόρειον μέλος·
3 ἅμα δ' ἐξῆρχεν ἐμβατηρίου παιᾶνος, ὥστε σεμνὴν ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν τὴν ὄψιν εἶναι, ῥυθμῷ τε πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐμβαινόντων καὶ μήτε διάσπασμα ποιούντων ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι μήτε ταῖς ψυχαῖς θορυβουμένων, ἀλλὰ πράως καὶ ἱλαρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μέλους ἀγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον. οὔτε γὰρ φόβον οὔτε θυμὸν ἐγγίνεσθαι πλεονάζοντα

[1] παρόντων MSS., Coraës, Sintenis[1], and Bekker: ὁρώντων (*in the sight of*), with Xenophon, *Rep. Lac.* xiii. 8.

decisions they had made, in order that they might be prompt to face the dread issue, and might perform such martial deeds as would be worthy of some record.[1]

XXII. In time of war, too, they relaxed the severity of the young men's discipline, and permitted them to beautify their hair and ornament their arms and clothing, rejoicing to see them, like horses, prance and neigh for the contest. Therefore they wore their hair long as soon as they ceased to be youths, and particularly in times of danger they took pains to have it glossy and well-combed, remembering a certain saying of Lycurgus, that a fine head of hair made the handsome more comely still, and the ugly more terrible. Their bodily exercises, too, were less rigorous during their campaigns, and in other ways their young warriors were allowed a regimen which was less curtailed and rigid, so that they were the only men in the world with whom war brought a respite in the training for war. And when at last they were drawn up in battle array and the enemy was at hand, the king sacrificed the customary she-goat, commanded all the warriors to set garlands upon their heads, and ordered the pipers to pipe the strains of the hymn to Castor; then he himself led off in a marching paean, and it was a sight equally grand and terrifying when they marched in step with the rhythm of the flute, without any gap in their line of battle, and with no confusion in their souls, but calmly and cheerfully moving with the strains of their hymn into the deadly fight. Neither fear nor excessive fury is likely to possess men so disposed,

[1] The Greek of this sentence is obscure, and the translation doubtful.

τοῖς οὕτω διακειμένοις εἰκός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' εὐσταθὲς φρόνημα μετ' ἐλπίδος καὶ θράσους, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαρόντος.

4 Ἐχώρει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στεφανίτην ἀγῶνα νενικηκότα. καί φασί γέ τινα χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις διδομένων αὐτῷ μὴ δεξάμενον, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ πόνῳ καταπαλαίσαντα τὸν ἀνταγωνιστήν, ὥς τις εἶπεν αὐτῷ, "Τί σοι πλέον, ὦ Λάκων, γέγονε διὰ τῆς νίκης;" φάναι μειδιάσαντα, "Πρὸ τοῦ βασι-
5 λέως τεταγμένος μαχοῦμαι τοῖς πολεμίοις." τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ νικήσαντες ἐδίωκον ὅσον ἐκβεβαιώσασθαι τὸ νίκημα τῇ φυγῇ τῶν πολεμίων, εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρουν, οὔτε γενναῖον οὔτε Ἑλληνικὸν ἡγούμενοι κόπτειν καὶ φονεύειν ἀπολεγομένους καὶ παρακεχωρηκότας. ἦν δὲ οὐ μόνον καλὸν τοῦτο καὶ μεγαλόψυχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήσιμον. εἰδότες γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι τοὺς ὑφισταμένους ἀναιροῦσι, φείδονται δὲ τῶν ἐνδιδόντων, τοῦ μένειν τὸ φεύγειν ἡγοῦντο λυσιτελέστερον.

XXIII. Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Λυκοῦργον Ἱππίας μὲν ὁ σοφιστὴς πολεμικώτατόν φησι γενέσθαι καὶ πολλῶν ἔμπειρον στρατειῶν, Φιλοστέφανος δὲ καὶ τὴν κατ' οὐλαμοὺς τῶν ἱππέων διανομὴν Λυκούργῳ προστίθησιν· εἶναι δὲ τὸν οὐλαμόν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος συνέστησεν, ἱππέων πεντήκοντα πλῆθος ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι τεταγμένων. ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος, οὐδεμιᾶς ἁψάμενον πολεμικῆς πράξεως ἐν εἰρήνῃ καταστήσασθαι τὴν πο-
2 λιτείαν. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιακῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἡ ἐπίνοια πρᾶου καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οἰκείως ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. καίτοι φασί τινες, ὡς Ἕρμιππος

but rather a firm purpose full of hope and courage, believing as they do that Heaven is their ally.

The king marched against the enemy in close companionship with one who had been crowned victor in the great games. And they tell of a certain Spartan who refused to be bought off from a contest at Olympia by large sums of money, and after a long struggle outwrestled his antagonist. When some one said to him then: "What advantage, O Spartan, hast thou got from thy victory?" he answered, with a smile: "I shall stand in front of my king when I fight our enemies." When they had conquered and routed an enemy, they pursued him far enough to make their victory secure by his flight, and then at once retired, thinking it ignoble and unworthy of a Hellene to hew men to pieces who had given up the fight and abandoned the field. And this was not only a noble and magnanimous policy, but it was also useful. For their antagonists, knowing that they slew those who resisted them, but showed mercy to those who yielded to them, were apt to think flight more advantageous than resistance.

XXIII. Hippias the Sophist says that Lycurgus himself was very well versed in war and took part in many campaigns, and Philostephanus attributes to him the arrangement of the Spartan cavalry by "oulamoi," explaining that the "oulamos," as constituted by him, was a troop of fifty horsemen in a square formation. But Demetrius the Phalerean says he engaged in no warlike undertakings, and established his constitution in a time of peace. And indeed the design of the Olympic truce would seem to bespeak a man of gentleness, and predisposed to peace. And yet there are some who say, as

μνημονεύει, τὸν Λυκοῦργον οὐ προσέχειν οὐδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἴφιτον, ἀλλὰ τυγχάνειν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντα καὶ θεώμενον· ἀκοῦσαι δὲ φωνὴν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ καὶ θαυμάζοντος ὅτι τοὺς πολίτας οὐ προτρέπεται κοινωνεῖν τῆς πανηγύρεως· ὡς δὲ μεταστραφέντος οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς ὁ φθεγξάμενος ἦν, θεῖον ἡγησάμενον, οὕτω πρὸς τὸν Ἴφιτον τραπέσθαι καὶ συνδιακοσμήσαντα τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐνδοξοτέραν καὶ βεβαιοτέραν καταστῆσαι.

XXIV. Ἡ δὲ παιδεία μέχρι τῶν ἐνηλίκων διέτεινεν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν ἀφειμένος ὡς ἐβούλετο ζῆν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τῇ πόλει καὶ δίαιταν ἔχοντες ὡρισμένην καὶ διατριβὴν περὶ τὰ κοινά, καὶ ὅλως νομίζοντες οὐχ αὑτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρίδος εἶναι διετέλουν, εἰ μή τι πράττειν ἕτερον εἴη προστεταγμένον, ἐπισκοποῦντες τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ διδάσκοντές τι τῶν χρησίμων ἢ μανθάνοντες
2 αὐτοὶ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. καὶ γὰρ ἕν τι τοῦτο τῶν καλῶν ἦν καὶ μακαρίων ἃ παρεσκεύασε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἀφθονία σχολῆς, οἷς τέχνης μὲν ἅψασθαι βαναύσου τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἐφεῖτο, χρηματισμοῦ δὲ συναγωγὴν ἔχοντος ἐργώδη καὶ πραγματείαν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἔδει, διὰ τὸ κομιδῇ τὸν πλοῦτον ἄζηλον γεγονέναι καὶ
3 ἄτιμον. οἱ δὲ εἵλωτες αὐτοῖς εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν, ἀποφορὰν τὴν εἰρημένην τελοῦντες. ἐπιδημῶν δέ τις Ἀθήνησι δικαστηρίων ὄντων, καὶ πυθόμενός τινα δίκην ἀργίας ὠφληκότα βαδίζειν ἀθυμοῦντα

Hermippus reminds us, that at the outset Lycurgus had nothing whatever to do with Iphitus and his enterprise, but happened to come that way by chance, and be a spectator at the games; that he heard behind him, however, what seemed to be a human voice, chiding him and expressing amazement that he did not urge his fellow-citizens to take part in the great festival; and since, on turning round, he did not see the speaker anywhere, he concluded that the voice was from heaven, and therefore betook himself to Iphitus, and assisted him in giving the festival a more notable arrangement and a more enduring basis.

XXIV. The training of the Spartans lasted into the years of full maturity. No man was allowed to live as he pleased, but in their city, as in a military encampment, they always had a prescribed regimen and employment in public service, considering that they belonged entirely to their country and not to themselves, watching over the boys, if no other duty was laid upon them, and either teaching them some useful thing, or learning it themselves from their elders. For one of the noble and blessed privileges which Lycurgus provided for his fellow-citizens, was abundance of leisure, since he forbade their engaging in any mechanical art whatsoever, and as for money-making, with its laborious efforts to amass wealth, there was no need of it at all, since wealth awakened no envy and brought no honour. Besides, the Helots tilled their ground for them, and paid them the produce mentioned above.[1] Therefore it was that one of them who was sojourning at Athens when the courts were in session, and learned that a certain

[1] Chapter viii. 4.

καὶ προπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων συναχθομένων καὶ βαρέως φερόντων, ἐδεῖτο δεῖξαι τοὺς συμπαρόντας αὐτῷ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τὴν ἐλευθερίας[1] ἐαλωκὼς δίκην. οὕτω δουλοπρεπὲς ἡγοῦντο τὴν περὶ τὰς
4 τέχνας καὶ τὸν χρηματισμὸν ἀσχολίαν. δίκαι δέ, ὡς εἰκός, ἐξέλιπον ἅμα τῷ νομίσματι, μήτε πλεονεξίας μήτε ἀπορίας αὐτοῖς παρούσης, ἰσότητος δὲ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καὶ ῥᾳστώνης δι' εὐτέλειαν γεγενημένης. χοροὶ δὲ καὶ θαλίαι καὶ εὐωχίαι καὶ διατριβαὶ περί τε θήρας καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λέσχας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐπεχωρίαζον, ὅτε μὴ στρατευόμενοι τύχοιεν.

XXV. Οἱ μέν γε νεώτεροι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν τὸ παράπαν οὐ κατέβαινον εἰς ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ διὰ 55
τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἐραστῶν ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἀναγκαίας οἰκονομίας. τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις αἰσχρὸν ἦν συνεχῶς ὁρᾶσθαι περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς καλουμένας λέσχας ἀναστρέφεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰς ταύτας συνιόντες ἐπιεικῶς ἐσχόλαζον μετ' ἀλλήλων, οὐδενὸς μεμνημένοι τῶν πρὸς χρηματισμὸν ἢ χρείαν ἀγοραῖον συντε-
2 λούντων· ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἦν τῆς τοιαύτης διατριβῆς ἔργον ἐπαινεῖν τι τῶν καλῶν, ἢ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ψέγειν, μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος, ἐλαφρῶς ὑποφέροντος εἰς νουθεσίαν καὶ διόρθωσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀκράτως αὐστηρὸς ὁ Λυκοῦργος· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γέλωτος ἀγαλμάτιον ἐκεῖνον ἱδρύσασθαι Σωσίβιος ἱστορεῖ, τὴν παιδιὰν ὥσπερ ἥδυσμα τοῦ πόνου καὶ τῆς διαίτης

[1] ἐλευθερίας, Sintenis[2] with Coraës, after Bryan; ἐλευθερίαν MSS., Sintenis[1], and Bekker.

Athenian had been fined for idleness and was going home in great distress of mind and attended on his way by sympathetic and sorrowing friends, begged the bystanders to show him the man who had been fined for living like a freeman. So servile a thing did they regard the devotion to the mechanical arts and to money-making. And law-suits, of course, vanished from among them with their gold and silver coinage, for they knew neither greed nor want, but equality in well-being was established there, and easy living based on simple wants. Choral dances and feasts and festivals and hunting and bodily exercise and social converse occupied their whole time, when they were not on a military expedition.

XXV. Those who were under thirty years of age did not go into the market-place at all, but had their household wants supplied at the hands of their kinsfolk and lovers. And it was disreputable for the elderly men to be continually seen loitering there, instead of spending the greater part of the day in the places of exercise and the so-called "leschai." [1] For if they gathered in these, they spent their time suitably with one another, making no allusions to the problems of money-making or of exchange, nay, they were chiefly occupied there in praising some noble action or censuring some base one, with jesting and laughter which made the path to instruction and correction easy and natural. For not even Lycurgus himself was immoderately severe; indeed, Sosibius tells us that he actually dedicated a little statue of Laughter, and introduced seasonable jesting into their drinking parties and like

[1] Places where men assembled for conversation.

ἐμβαλόντα κατὰ καιρὸν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς.

3 Τὸ δὲ ὅλον εἴθιζε τοὺς πολίτας μὴ βούλεσθαι μηδὲ ἐπίστασθαι κατ' ἰδίαν ζῆν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰς μελίττας τῷ κοινῷ συμφυεῖς ὄντας ἀεὶ καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων εἱλουμένους περὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα, μικροῦ δεῖν ἐξεστῶτας ἑαυτῶν ὑπ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ὅλους εἶναι τῆς πατρίδος· ὡς ἔστι καὶ φωναῖς τισιν αὐτῶν ἀποθεωρῆσαι τὴν διά-
4 νοιαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παιδάρητος οὐκ ἐγκριθεὶς εἰς τοὺς τριακοσίους ἀπῄει μάλα φαιδρός, ὥσπερ χαίρων ὅτι βελτίονας αὐτοῦ τριακοσίους ἡ πόλις ἔχει· Πολυκρατίδας δὲ ὁ πρεσβεύων πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς μεθ' ἑτέρων, ἐρομένων αὐτῶν πότερον ἰδίᾳ πάρεισιν ἢ δημοσίᾳ πεμφθέντες, εἶπεν, "Αἴκα τύχωμεν, δημοσίᾳ, αἴκα ἀποτύ-
5 χωμεν, ἰδίᾳ." ἡ δὲ Βρασίδου μήτηρ Ἀργιλεωνίς, ὡς ἀφικόμενοί τινες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως εἰσῆλθον πρὸς αὐτήν, ἠρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς ὁ Βρασίδας ἀπέθανε καὶ τὰς Σπάρτας ἀξίως· μεγαλυνόντων δὲ ἐκείνων τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἔχει τοιοῦτον ἄλλον ἡ Σπάρτη· "Μὴ λέγετε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένοι· καλὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὁ Βρασίδας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας Λακεδαίμων ἔχει τήνου κάρρονας."

XXVI. Τοὺς δὲ γέροντας αὐτὸς μέν, ὡς εἴρηται, κατέστησε τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν μετασχόντων τοῦ βουλεύματος· ὕστερον δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ τελευτῶντος ἔταξε καθιστάναι τὸν ἄριστον ἀρετῇ κριθέντα τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων. καὶ μέγιστος

diversions, to sweeten, as it were, their hardships and meagre fare.

In a word, he trained his fellow-citizens to have neither the wish nor the ability to live for themselves; but like bees they were to make themselves always integral parts of the whole community, clustering together about their leader, almost beside themselves with enthusiasm and noble ambition, and to belong wholly to their country. This idea can be traced also in some of their utterances. For instance, Paedaretus, when he failed to be chosen among the three hundred best men, went away with a very glad countenance, as if rejoicing that the city had three hundred better men than himself. And again, Polycratidas, one of an embassy to the generals of the Persian king, on being asked by them whether the embassy was there in a private or a public capacity, replied: "If we succeed, in a public capacity; if we fail, in a private." Again, Argileonis, the mother of Brasidas, when some Amphipolitans who had come to Sparta paid her a visit, asked them if Brasidas had died nobly and in a manner worthy of Sparta. Then they greatly extolled the man and said that Sparta had not such another, to which she answered: "Say not so, Strangers; Brasidas was noble and brave, but Sparta has many better men than he."

XXVI. The senators were at first appointed by Lycurgus himself, as I have said,[1] from those who shared his counsels; but afterwards he arranged that any vacancy caused by death should be filled by the man elected as most deserving out of those above sixty years of age. And of all the contests in

[1] Chapter v. 7 f.

ἐδόκει τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγώνων οὗτος εἶναι καὶ περιμαχητότατος· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταχέσι τάχιστον οὐδ' ἐν ἰσχυροῖς ἰσχυρότατον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ σώφροσιν ἄριστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον ἔδει κριθέντα νικητήριον ἔχειν τῆς ἀρετῆς διὰ βίου τὸ σύμπαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, κράτος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, κύριον ὄντα καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ ὅλως τῶν
2 μεγίστων. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ κρίσις τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. ἐκκλησίας ἀθροισθείσης ἄνδρες αἱρετοὶ καθείργνυντο πλησίον εἰς οἴκημα, τὴν μὲν ὄψιν οὐχ ὁρῶντες οὐδὲ ὁρώμενοι, τὴν δὲ κραυγὴν μόνον ἀκούοντες ἐκκλησιαζόντων. βοῇ γὰρ ὡς τἆλλα καὶ τοὺς ἀμιλλωμένους ἔκρινον, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντων, ἀλλ' ἑκάστου κατὰ κλῆρον εἰσαγομένου καὶ σιωπῇ
3 διαπορευομένου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἔχοντες οὖν οἱ κατάκλειστοι γραμματεῖα, καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεσημαίνοντο τῆς κραυγῆς τὸ μέγεθος, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτῳ γένοιτο, πλὴν ὅτι πρῶτος ἢ δεύτερος ἢ τρίτος ἢ ὁποστοσοῦν εἴη τῶν εἰσαγομένων. ὅτῳ δὲ πλείστη γένοιτο καὶ μεγίστη, τοῦτον ἀνηγόρευον. ὁ δὲ στεφανωσάμενος περιῄει τοὺς θεούς· εἵποντο δὲ πολλοὶ νέοι ζηλοῦντες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μεγαλύνοντες, πολλαί τε γυναῖκες ἐγκωμιάζουσαι δι' ᾠδῆς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸν βίον εὐδαιμονίζουσαι.
4 τῶν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων ἕκαστος αὐτῷ δεῖπνον παρα- 5
τιθεὶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ πόλις ταύτῃ τιμᾷ τῇ τραπέζῃ. περιελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον ἀπῄει· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐγίνετο συνήθως, δευτέρας δὲ μερίδος αὐτῷ

the world this would seem to have been the greatest and the most hotly disputed. For it was not the swiftest of the swift, nor the strongest of the strong, but the best and wisest of the good and wise who was to be elected, and have for the rest of his life, as a victor's prize for excellence, what I may call the supreme power in the state, lord as he was of life and death, honour and dishonour, and all the greatest issues of life. The election was made in the following manner. An assembly of the people having been convened, chosen men were shut up in a room near by so that they could neither see nor be seen, but only hear the shouts of the assembly. For as in other matters, so here, the cries of the assembly decided between the competitors. These did not appear in a body, but each one was introduced separately, as the lot fell, and passed silently through the assembly. Then the secluded judges, who had writing-tablets with them, recorded in each case the loudness of the shouting, not knowing for whom it was given, but only that he was introduced first, second, or third, and so on. Whoever was greeted with the most and loudest shouting, him they declared elected. The victor then set a wreath upon his head and visited in order the temples of the gods. He was followed by great numbers of young men, who praised and extolled him, as well as by many women, who celebrated his excellence in songs, and dwelt on the happiness of his life. Each of his relations and friends set a repast before him, saying: "The city honours thee with this table." When he had finished his circuit, he went off to his mess-table. Here he fared in other ways as usual, but a second portion of food was set before him,

παρατεθείσης ἐφύλαττεν ἀράμενος· καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ φιδιτίου τῶν οἰκείων παρουσῶν γυναικῶν, ἣν μάλιστα τυγχάνοι τιμῶν προσεκαλεῖτο, καὶ διδοὺς τὴν μοῖραν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ταύτην αὐτὸς λαβὼν ἀριστεῖον ἐκείνῃ δίδωσιν, ὥστε κἀκείνην ζηλουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων προπέμπεσθαι γυναικῶν.

XXVII. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄριστα διεκόσμησεν αὐτοῖς.[1] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀνελὼν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκρούς, καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνήματα τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε, συντρόφους ποιῶν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὄψεσι καὶ συνήθεις τοὺς νέους, ὥστε μὴ ταράττεσθαι μηδ' ὀρρωδεῖν τὸν θάνατον ὡς μιαίνοντα τοὺς ἁψαμένους νεκροῦ σώματος ἢ διὰ τάφων διελθόντας. ἔπειτα συνθάπτειν οὐδὲν εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας
2 θέντες τὸ σῶμα περιέστελλον. ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τοὔνομα θάψαντας οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῦ νεκροῦ, πλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων. χρόνον δὲ πένθους ὀλίγον προσώρισεν, ἡμέρας ἔνδεκα· τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ θύσαντας ἔδει Δήμητρι λύειν τὸ πάθος. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀργὸν οὐδὲ ἀφειμένον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι κατεμίγνυε τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀρετῆς τινα ζῆλον ἢ κακίας διαβολήν· καὶ κατεπύκνου παραδειγμάτων πλήθει τὴν πόλιν, οἷς ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀεὶ καὶ συντρεφομένους ἄγεσθαι καὶ κατασχηματίζεσθαι ἰόντας πρὸς τὸ καλόν.

[1] αὐτοῖς Coraës and Bekker, after Bryan: αὐτός (*himself*).

which he took and put by. After the supper was over, the women who were related to him being now assembled at the door of the mess-hall, he called to him the one whom he most esteemed and gave her the portion he had saved, saying that he had received it as a meed of excellence, and as such gave it to her. Upon this, she too was lauded by the rest of the women and escorted by them to her home.

XXVII. Furthermore, Lycurgus made most excellent regulations in the matter of their burials. To begin with, he did away with all superstitious terror by allowing them to bury their dead within the city, and to have memorials of them near the sacred places, thus making the youth familiar with such sights and accustomed to them, so that they were not confounded by them, and had no horror of death as polluting those who touched a corpse or walked among graves. In the second place, he permitted nothing to be buried with the dead; they simply covered the body with a scarlet robe and olive leaves when they laid it away. To inscribe the name of the dead upon the tomb was not allowed, unless it were that of a man who had fallen in war, or that of a woman who had died in sacred office. He set apart only a short time for mourning, eleven days; on the twelfth, they were to sacrifice to Demeter and cease their sorrowing. Indeed, nothing was left untouched and neglected, but with all the necessary details of life he blended some commendation of virtue or rebuke of vice; and he filled the city full of good examples, whose continual presence and society must of necessity exercise a controlling and moulding influence upon those who were walking the path of honour.

3 Ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀποδημεῖν ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ πλανᾶσθαι, ξενικὰ συνάγοντας ἤθη καὶ μιμήματα βίων ἀπαιδεύτων καὶ πολιτευμάτων διαφόρων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους ἐπ' οὐδενὶ χρησίμῳ καὶ παρεισρέοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλαυνεν, οὐχ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησί, δεδιὼς μὴ τῆς πολιτείας μιμηταὶ γένωνται καὶ πρὸς ἀρετήν τι χρήσιμον ἐκμάθωσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως μὴ
4 διδάσκαλοι κακοῦ τινος ὑπάρξωσιν. ἅμα γὰρ ξένοις σώμασιν ἀνάγκη λόγους ἐπεισιέναι ξένους· λόγοι δὲ καινοὶ κρίσεις καινὰς ἐπιφέρουσιν. ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη πάθη πολλὰ φύεσθαι καὶ προαιρέσεις ἀπᾳδούσας πρὸς τὴν καθεστῶσαν πολιτείαν, ὥσπερ ἁρμονίαν. διὸ μᾶλλον ᾤετο χρῆναι φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν ὅπως ἠθῶν οὐκ ἀναπλησθήσεται πονηρῶν ἢ σωμάτων νοσερῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπεισιόντων.

XXVIII. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτοις οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀδικίας ἴχνος οὐδὲ πλεονεξίας, ἣν ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἔνιοι τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις, ὡς ἱκανῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ἐνδεῶς δὲ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. ἡ δὲ καλουμένη κρυπτεία παρ' αὐτοῖς, εἴ γε δὴ τοῦτο τῶν Λυκούργου πολιτευμάτων ἕν ἐστιν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστόρηκε, ταύτην ἂν εἴη καὶ τῷ Πλάτωνι περὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
2 ἐνειργασμένη δόξαν. ἦν δὲ τοιαύτη· τῶν νέων οἱ ἄρχοντες διὰ χρόνου τοὺς μάλιστα νοῦν ἔχειν δοκοῦντας εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄλλως ἐξέπεμπον, ἔχοντας ἐγχειρίδια καὶ τροφὴν ἀναγκαίαν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν· οἱ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν εἰς ἀσυνδήλους διασπειρόμενοι τόπους, ἀπέκρυπτον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ

This was the reason why he did not permit them to live abroad at their pleasure and wander in strange lands, assuming foreign habits and imitating the lives of peoples who were without training and lived under different forms of government. Nay more, he actually drove away from the city the multitudes which streamed in there for no useful purpose, not because he feared they might become imitators of his form of government and learn useful lessons in virtue, as Thucydides says,[1] but rather that they might not become in any wise teachers of evil. For along with strange people, strange doctrines must come in; and novel doctrines bring novel decisions, from which there must arise many feelings and resolutions which destroy the harmony of the existing political order. Therefore he thought it more necessary to keep bad manners and customs from invading and filling the city than it was to keep out infectious diseases.

XXVIII. Now in all this there is no trace of injustice or arrogance, which some attribute to the laws of Lycurgus, declaring them efficacious in producing valour, but defective in producing righteousness. The so-called "krupteia," or *secret service*, of the Spartans, if this be really one of the institutions of Lycurgus, as Aristotle says it was, may have given Plato also[2] this opinion of the man and his civil polity. This secret service was of the following nature. The magistrates from time to time sent out into the country at large the most discreet of the young warriors, equipped only with daggers and such supplies as were necessary. In the day time they scattered into obscure and out of the way places,

[1] In the *Funeral Oration* of Pericles, ii. 39, 1.
[2] *Laws*, p. 630 d.

ἀνεπαύοντο, νύκτωρ δὲ κατιόντες εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς
3 τῶν εἱλώτων τὸν ἁλισκόμενον ἀπέσφαττον. πολ-
λάκις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγροῖς[1] ἐπιπορευόμενοι τοὺς
ῥωμαλεωτάτους καὶ κρατίστους αὐτῶν ἀνῄρουν.
ὥσπερ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς
ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ προκριθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν
Σπαρτιατῶν στεφανώσασθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλευθέρους 57
γεγονότας καὶ περιελθεῖν τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά,
μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ἅπαντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι,
πλείονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὄντας, ὡς μήτε παραχρῆμα
μήτε ὕστερον ἔχειν τινὰ λέγειν ὅτῳ[2] τρόπῳ
4 διεφθάρησαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ μάλιστά φησι
καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὅταν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῶσι
πρῶτον, τοῖς εἵλωσι καταγγέλλειν πόλεμον,
ὅπως εὐαγὲς ᾖ τὸ ἀνελεῖν.

Καὶ τἆλλα δὲ τραχέως προσεφέροντο καὶ
σκληρῶς αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ πίνειν ἀναγκάζοντες
πολὺν ἄκρατον εἰς τὰ συσσίτια παρεισῆγον, ἐπι-
δεικνύμενοι τὸ μεθύειν οἷόν ἐστι τοῖς νέοις. καὶ
ᾠδὰς ἐκέλευον ᾄδειν καὶ χορείας χορεύειν ἀγεννεῖς
καὶ καταγελάστους, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων.
5 διὸ καί φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Θηβαίων εἰς τὴν
Λακωνικὴν στρατείᾳ τοὺς ἁλισκομένους εἵλωτας
κελευομένους ᾄδειν τὰ Τερπάνδρου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος
καὶ Σπένδοντος τοῦ Λάκωνος παραιτεῖσθαι, φά-
σκοντας οὐκ ἐθέλειν τοὺς δεσποσύνους. ὥστε τοὺς
λέγοντας, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τὸν ἐλεύθερον μά-
λιστα ἐλεύθερον εἶναι καὶ τὸν δοῦλον μάλιστα

[1] *τοῖς ἀγροῖς* MSS. (incl. S) : *τοὺς ἀγροὺς* after Coraës.
[2] *ὅτῳ* Cobet, cf. Thuc. iv. 80, 4 : *τῷ*.

where they hid themselves and lay quiet; but in the night they came down into the highways and killed every Helot whom they caught. Oftentimes, too, they actually traversed the fields where Helots were working and slew the sturdiest and best of them. So, too, Thucydides, in his history of the Peloponnesian war,[1] tells us that the Helots who had been judged by the Spartans to be superior in bravery, set wreaths upon their heads in token of their emancipation, and visited the temples of the gods in procession, but a little while afterwards all disappeared, more than two thousand of them, in such a way that no man was able to say, either then or afterwards, how they came by their deaths. And Aristotle in particular says also that the ephors, as soon as they came into office, made formal declaration of war upon the Helots, in order that there might be no impiety in slaying them.

And in other ways also they were harsh and cruel to the Helots. For instance, they would force them to drink too much strong wine, and then introduce them into their public messes, to show the young men what a thing drunkenness was. They also ordered them to sing songs and dance dances that were low and ridiculous, but to let the nobler kind alone. And therefore in later times, they say, when the Thebans made their expedition into Laconia,[2] they ordered the Helots whom they captured to sing the songs of Terpander, Alcman, and Spendon the Spartan; but they declined to do so, on the plea that their masters did not allow it, thus proving the correctness of the saying: "In Sparta the freeman is more a freeman than anywhere else in the world,

[1] iv. 80. [2] Under Epaminondas, 369 B.C.

δοῦλον, οὐ φαύλως τεθεωρηκέναι τὴν διαφοράν.
6 τὰς μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας χαλεπότητας ὕστερον ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις νομίζω, μάλιστα μετὰ τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν, ᾧ συνεπιθέσθαι τοὺς εἵλωτας μετὰ Μεσσηνίων ἱστοροῦσι, καὶ πλεῖστα κακὰ τὴν χώραν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ μέγιστον τῇ πόλει περιστῆσαι κίνδυνον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔγωγε προσθείην Λυκούργῳ μιαρὸν οὕτω τῆς κρυπτείας ἔργον ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ πραότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης τεκμαιρόμενος τὸν τρόπον, ᾧ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπεμαρτύρησε.

XXIX. Κατειλημμένων δὲ τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς ἤδη τῶν κυριωτάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκτεθραμμένης ἱκανῶς καὶ δυναμένης φέρειν ἑαυτὴν καὶ σώζειν δι' ἑαυτῆς, ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων φησὶν ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ γενομένῳ καὶ κινηθέντι τὴν πρώτην κίνησιν εὐφρανθῆναι τὸν θεόν, οὕτως ἀγασθεὶς καὶ ἀγαπήσας τὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος ἐν ἔργῳ γενομένης καὶ ὁδῷ βαδιζούσης, ἐπεθύμησεν, ὡς ἀνυστὸν ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης προνοίας, ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ ἀκίνητον
2 εἰς τὸ μέλλον. συναγαγὼν οὖν ἅπαντας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετρίως ἔχειν ἔφη καὶ ἱκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν τῆς πόλεως, ὃ δὲ κυριώτατόν ἐστι καὶ μέγιστον οὐκ ἂν ἐξενεγκεῖν πρότερον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢ χρήσασθαι τῷ θεῷ. δεῖν οὖν ἐκείνους ἐμμένειν τοῖς καθεστῶσι νόμοις καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλάσσειν μηδὲ μετακινεῖν ἕως ἐπάνεισιν ἐκ Δελφῶν αὐτός· ἐπανελθὼν γὰρ ὅ τι

and the slave more a slave." However, in my opinion, such cruelties were first practised by the Spartans in later times, particularly after the great earthquake,[1] when the Helots and Messenians together rose up against them, wrought the widest devastation in their territory, and brought their city into the greatest peril. I certainly cannot ascribe to Lycurgus so abominable a measure as the "krupteia," judging of his character from his mildness and justice in all other instances. To this the voice of the god also bore witness.[2]

XXIX. When his principal institutions were at last firmly fixed in the customs of the people, and his civil polity had sufficient growth and strength to support and preserve itself, just as Plato says[3] that Deity was rejoiced to see His universe come into being and make its first motion, so Lycurgus was filled with joyful satisfaction in the magnitude and beauty of his system of laws, now that it was in operation and moving along its pathway. He therefore ardently desired, so far as human forethought could accomplish the task, to make it immortal, and let it go down unchanged to future ages. Accordingly, he assembled the whole people, and told them that the provisions already made were sufficiently adapted to promote the prosperity and virtue of the state, but that something of the greatest weight and importance remained, which he could not lay before them until he had consulted the god at Delphi. They must therefore abide by the established laws and make no change nor alteration in them until he came back from Delphi in person;

[1] 464 B.C. Cf. Plutarch's *Cimon*, xvi.
[2] See chapter v. 3. [3] *Timaeus*, p. 37 c.

3 ἂν τῷ θεῷ δοκῇ ποιήσειν. ὁμολογούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κελευόντων βαδίζειν, ὅρκους λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν γερόντων, ἔπειτα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, ἐμμενεῖν καὶ χρήσεσθαι τῇ καθεστώσῃ πολιτείᾳ μέχρις ἂν ἐπανέλθῃ ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Δελφούς.

Παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας, ἠρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἱκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν πόλεως κείμενοι
4 τυγχάνουσιν. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους καλῶς κεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοξοτάτην διαμενεῖν τῇ Λυκούργου χρωμένην πολιτείᾳ, τὸ μάντευμα γραψάμενος εἰς Σπάρτην ἀπέστειλεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ θεῷ πάλιν θύσας καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀσπασάμενος καὶ τὸν υἱόν, ἔγνω μηκέτι τοῖς πολίταις ἀφεῖναι τὸν ὅρκον, αὐτοῦ δὲ καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον ἑκουσίως, ἡλικίας γεγονὼς ἐν ᾗ καὶ βιοῦν ἔτι καὶ πεπαῦσθαι βουλομένοις ὡραῖόν ἐστι, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἔχειν δο-
5 κούντων. ἐτελεύτησεν οὖν ἀποκαρτερήσας, ἡγούμενος χρῆναι τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν μηδὲ τὸν θάνατον ἀπολίτευτον εἶναι μηδὲ ἀργὸν τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρετῆς μερίδι καὶ πράξεως γενόμενον. αὐτῷ τε γὰρ ἐξειργασμένῳ τὰ κάλλιστα τὴν τελευτὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιτελείωσιν εἶναι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ὧν διὰ τοῦ βίου παρεσκεύασε καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν φύλακα τὸν θάνατον ἀπολείψειν, ὁμωμοκόσι χρῆσθαι τῇ πο-
6 λιτείᾳ μέχρις ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἐπανέλθῃ. καὶ οὐ διεψεύ-

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then he would do whatsoever the god thought best. When they all agreed to this and bade him set out on his journey, he exacted an oath from the kings and the senators, and afterwards from the rest of the citizens, that they would abide by the established polity and observe it until Lycurgus should come back ; then he set out for Delphi.

On reaching the oracle, he sacrificed to the god, and asked if the laws which he had established were good, and sufficient to promote a city's prosperity and virtue. Apollo answered that the laws which he had established were good, and that the city would continue to be held in highest honour while it kept to the polity of Lycurgus. This oracle Lycurgus wrote down, and sent it to Sparta. But for his own part, he sacrificed again to the god, took affectionate leave of his friends and of his son, and resolved never to release his fellow-citizens from their oath, but of his own accord to put an end to his life where he was. He had reached an age in which life was not yet a burden, and death no longer a terror ; when he and his friends, moreover, appeared to be sufficiently prosperous and happy. He therefore abstained from food till he died, considering that even the death of a statesman should be of service to the state, and the ending of his life not void of effect, but recognized as a virtuous deed. As for himself, since he had wrought out fully the noblest tasks, the end of life would actually be a consummation of his good fortune and happiness ; and as for his fellow-citizens, he would make his death the guardian, as it were, of all the blessings he had secured for them during his life, since they had sworn to observe and maintain his polity until he should return. And he was not

σθη τῶν λογισμῶν· τοσοῦτον ἐπρώτευσεν ἡ πόλις τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐνομίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ, χρόνον ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων τοῖς Λυκούργου χρησαμένη νόμοις, οὓς δεκατεσσάρων βασιλέων μετ' ἐκεῖνον εἰς Ἄγιν τὸν Ἀρχιδάμου γενομένων οὐδεὶς ἐκίνησεν. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἐφόρων κατάστασις οὐκ ἄνεσις ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐπίτασις τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ δοκοῦσα πρὸς τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι σφοδροτέραν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν.

XXX. Ἄγιδος δὲ βασιλεύοντος εἰσερρύη νόμισμα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νομίσματος πλεονεξία καὶ πλούτου ζῆλος ἐπέβη διὰ Λύσανδρον, ὃς αὐτὸς ὢν ἀνάλωτος ὑπὸ χρημάτων, ἐνέπλησε τὴν πατρίδα φιλοπλουτίας καὶ τρυφῆς, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καταγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς Λυκούργου καταπολιτευσάμε-
2 νος νόμους. ὧν ἐπικρατούντων πρότερον οὐ πόλεως ἡ Σπάρτη πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ βίον ἔχουσα, μᾶλλον δ', ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μυθολογοῦσι δέρμα καὶ ξύλον ἔχοντα τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπιπορεύεσθαι, κολάζοντα τοὺς παρανόμους καὶ θηριώδεις τυράννους, οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ σκυτάλης μιᾶς καὶ τρίβωνος ἄρχουσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἑκούσης καὶ βουλομένης, κατέλυε τὰς ἀδίκους δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδας ἐν τοῖς πολιτεύμασι, καὶ πολέμους ἐβράβευε καὶ στάσεις κατέπαυε, πολλάκις οὐδ' ἀσπίδα κινήσασα μίαν, ἀλλ' ἕνα πέμψασα πρεσβευτήν, ᾧ πάντες εὐθὺς ἐποίουν τὸ προστασσόμενον, ὥσπερ αἱ μέλισσαι φανέντος ἡγεμόνος, συντρέχοντες καὶ κατακοσμούμενοι. τοσοῦτον περιῆν εὐνομίας τῇ πόλει καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

deceived in his expectations, so long did his city have the first rank in Hellas for good government and reputation, observing as she did for five hundred years the laws of Lycurgus, in which no one of the fourteen kings who followed him made any change, down to Agis the son of Archidamus. For the institution of the ephors did not weaken, but rather strengthened the civil polity, and though it was thought to have been done in the interests of the people, it really made the aristocracy more powerful.

XXX. But in the reign of Agis, gold and silver money first flowed into Sparta, and with money, greed and a desire for wealth prevailed through the agency of Lysander, who, though incorruptible himself, filled his country with the love of riches and with luxury, by bringing home gold and silver from the war, and thus subverting the laws of Lycurgus. While these remained in force, Sparta led the life, not of a city under a constitution, but of an individual man under training and full of wisdom. Nay rather, as the poets weave their tales of Heracles, how with his club and lion's skin he traversed the world chastising lawless and savage tyrants, so we may say that Sparta, simply with the dispatch-staff and cloak of her envoys, kept Hellas in willing and glad obedience, put down illegal oligarchies and tyrannies in the different states, arbitrated wars, and quelled seditions, often without so much as moving a single shield, but merely sending one ambassador, whose commands all at once obeyed, just as bees, when their leader appears, swarm together and array themselves about him. Such a surplus fund of good government and justice did the city enjoy.

3 Ὅθεν ἔγωγε θαυμάζω τῶν λεγόντων ὡς ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἤδεσαν, ἄρχειν δὲ οὐκ ἠπίσταντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τὸν Θεοπόμπου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαινούντων λόγον, ὅς, εἰπόντος τινὸς σώζεσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην διὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀρχικοὺς γεγονότας, "Μᾶλλον," εἶπε, "διὰ τοὺς πολίτας πει-
4 θαρχικοὺς ὄντας." οὐ γὰρ ἀκούειν ὑπομένουσι τῶν προστατεῖν μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἡ πειθαρχία μάθημα μέν ἐστιν τοῦ ἄρχοντος [1] (ἐμποιεῖ γὰρ ὁ καλῶς ἄγων τὸ καλῶς ἕπεσθαι· καὶ καθάπερ ἱππικῆς τέχνης ἀποτέλεσμα πρᾷον ἵππον καὶ πειθήνιον παρασχεῖν, οὕτω βασιλικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἔργον ἀνθρώποις εὐπείθειαν ἐνεργάσασθαι), Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ εὐπείθειαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμίαν ἐνειργάζοντο τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ὑπακούειν
5 αὐτοῖς. ἤτουν γὰρ οὐ ναῦς οὐδὲ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ὁπλίτας πέμποντες, ἀλλὰ ἕνα Σπαρτιάτην ἡγεμόνα· καὶ λαβόντες ἐχρῶντο μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δέους, ὥσπερ Γυλίππῳ Σικελιῶται καὶ Βρασίδᾳ Χαλκιδεῖς, Λυσάνδρῳ δὲ καὶ Καλλικρατίδᾳ καὶ Ἀγησιλάῳ πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντες Ἕλληνες, τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἁρμοστὰς καὶ σωφρονιστὰς τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ δήμων καὶ ἀρχόντων ὀνομάζοντες, πρὸς δὲ σύμπασαν τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πόλιν ὥσπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ διδάσκαλον εὐσχήμονος βίου καὶ τεταγμένης
6 πολιτείας ἀποβλέποντες. εἰς ὃ καὶ Στρατόνικος ἐπισκῶψαι δοκεῖ, μετὰ παιδιᾶς νομοθετῶν καὶ κελεύων Ἀθηναίους ἄγειν μυστήρια καὶ πομπάς, Ἠλείους δὲ ἀγωνοθετεῖν, ὡς κάλλιστα τοῦτο ποιοῦντας, Λακεδαιμονίους δέ, ἂν ἁμαρτάνωσιν

[1] τοῦ ἄρχοντος with S : ἄρχοντος.

Wherefore, I for one am amazed at those who declare that the Lacedaemonians knew how to obey, but did not understand how to command, and quote with approval the story of King Theopompus, who, when some one said that Sparta was safe and secure because her kings knew how to command, replied: "Nay, rather because her citizens know how to obey." For men will not consent to obey those who have not the ability to rule, but obedience is a lesson to be learned from a commander. For a good leader makes good followers, and just as the final attainment of the art of horsemanship is to make a horse gentle and tractable, so it is the task of the science of government to implant obedience in men. And the Lacedaemonians implanted in the rest of the Greeks not only a willingness to obey, but a desire to be their followers and subjects. People did not send requests to them for ships, or money, or hoplites, but for a single Spartan commander; and when they got him, they treated him with honour and reverence, as the Sicilians treated Gylippus; the Chalcidians, Brasidas; and all the Greeks resident in Asia, Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaüs. These men, wherever they came, were styled regulators and chasteners of peoples and magistrates, and the city of Sparta from which they came was regarded as a teacher of well-ordered private life and settled civil polity. To this position of Sparta Stratonicus would seem to have mockingly alluded when, in jest, he proposed a law that the Athenians should conduct mysteries and processions, and that the Eleians should preside at games, since herein lay their special excellence, but that the Lacedaemonians should be cudgelled if the others

οὗτοι, δέρεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἴρηται χάριν τοῦ γελοίου· Ἀντισθένης δὲ ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ὁρῶν τοὺς Θηβαίους μέγα φρονοῦντας, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔφη διαφέρειν παιδαρίων ἐπὶ τῷ συγκόψαι τὸν παιδαγωγὸν γαυριώντων.

XXXI. Οὐ μὴν τοῦτό γε τῷ Λυκούργῳ κεφάλαιον ἦν τότε, πλείστων ἡγουμένην ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς βίῳ καὶ πόλεως ὅλης νομίζων εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ ὁμονοίας τῆς πρὸς αὑτήν, πρὸς τοῦτο συνέταξε καὶ συνήρμοσεν, ὅπως ἐλευθέριοι καὶ αὐτάρκεις γενόμενοι καὶ σωφρονοῦντες ἐπὶ
2 πλεῖστον χρόνον διατελῶσι. ταύτην καὶ Πλάτων ἔλαβε τῆς πολιτείας ὑπόθεσιν καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ζήνων καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τι περὶ τούτων ἐπιχειρήσαντες εἰπεῖν ἐπαινοῦνται, γράμματα καὶ λόγους ἀπολιπόντες μόνον. ὁ δὲ οὐ γράμματα καὶ λόγους, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πολιτείαν ἀμίμητον εἰς φῶς προενεγκάμενος, καὶ τοῖς ἀνύπαρκτον εἶναι τὴν λεγομένην περὶ τὸν σοφὸν διάθεσιν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐπιδείξας ὅλην τὴν πόλιν φιλοσοφοῦσαν, εἰκότως ὑπερῆρε τῇ δόξῃ τοὺς πώποτε πολιτευσαμένους ἐν
3 τοῖς Ἕλλησι. δι' ὅπερ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλάττονας σχεῖν φησι τιμὰς ἢ προσῆκον ἦν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καίπερ ἔχοντα τὰς μεγίστας. ἱερόν τε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ θύουσι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς θεῷ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν λειψάνων αὐτοῦ κομισθέντων οἴκαδε κεραυνὸν εἰς τὸν

did amiss.[1] This was a joke; but Antisthenes the Socratic, when he saw the Thebans in high feather after the battle of Leuctra,[2] said in all seriousness that they were just like little boys strutting about because they had thrashed their tutor.

XXXI. It was not, however, the chief design of Lycurgus then to leave his city in command over a great many others, but he thought that the happiness of an entire city, like that of a single individual, depended on the prevalence of virtue and concord within its own borders. The aim, therefore, of all his arrangements and adjustments was to make his people free-minded, self-sufficing, and moderate in all their ways, and to keep them so as long as possible. His design for a civil polity was adopted by Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and by all those who have won approval for their treatises on this subject, although they left behind them only writings and words. Lycurgus, on the other hand, produced not writings and words, but an actual polity which was beyond imitation, and because he gave, to those who maintain that the much talked of natural disposition to wisdom exists only in theory, an example of an entire city given to the love of wisdom, his fame rightly transcended that of all who ever founded polities among the Greeks. Therefore Aristotle says that the honours paid him in Sparta were less than he deserved, although he enjoys the highest honours there. For he has a temple, and sacrifices are offered to him yearly as to a god. It is also said that when his remains were brought home, his

[1] Cf. chapter xviii. 4.

[2] In 371 B.C., when the Thebans under Epaminondas broke the supremacy of Sparta.

τάφον κατασκῆψαι· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν πλὴν Εὐριπίδῃ συμπεσεῖν ὕστερον, τελευτήσαντι καὶ ταφέντι τῆς Μακεδονίας περὶ Ἀρέθουσαν. ὥστε ἀπολόγημα καὶ μαρτύριον μέγα εἶναι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὸ μόνῳ συμπεσεῖν αὐτῷ μετὰ τελευτὴν [1] ἃ τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ καὶ ὁσιωτάτῳ πρότερον συνέπεσε.

4 Τελευτῆσαι δὲ τὸν Λυκοῦργον οἱ μὲν ἐν Κίρρᾳ λέγουσιν, Ἀπολλόθεμις δὲ εἰς Ἦλιν κομισθέντα, Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν Κρήτῃ καταβιώσαντα· καὶ τάφον Ἀριστόξενος αὐτοῦ δείκνυσθαί φησιν ὑπὸ Κρητῶν τῆς Περγαμίας περὶ τὴν ξενικὴν ὁδόν. υἱὸν δὲ λέγεται μονογενῆ καταλιπεῖν Ἀντίωρον· οὗ τελευτήσαντος ἀτέκνου τὸ γένος
5 ἐξέλιπεν. οἱ δ' ἑταῖροι καὶ οἰκεῖοι διαδοχήν τινα καὶ σύνοδον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους διαμείνασαν κατέστησαν, καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς συνήρχοντο Λυκουργίδας προσηγόρευσαν. Ἀριστοκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἱππάρχου φησὶ τοὺς ξένους τοῦ Λυκούργου τελευτήσαντος ἐν Κρήτῃ καῦσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ διασπεῖραι τὴν τέφραν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος καὶ φυλαξαμένου μή ποτε ἄρα τῶν λειψάνων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα κομισθέντων, ὡς ἐπανήκοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὅρκων λελυμένων, μεταβάλωσι τὴν πολιτείαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ Λυκούργου.

[1] The words καὶ γενέσθαι following τελευτὴν are deleted by Bekker and Sintenis[2] (in critical notes).

tomb was struck by lightning, and that this hardly happened to any other eminent man after him except Euripides, who died and was buried at Arethusa in Macedonia. The lovers of Euripides therefore regard it as a great testimony in his favour that he alone experienced after death what had earlier befallen a man who was most holy and beloved of the gods.

Some say that Lycurgus died in Cirrha; Apollothemis, that he was brought to Elis and died there; Timaeus and Aristoxenus, that he ended his days in Crete; and Aristoxenus adds that his tomb is shown by the Cretans in the district of Pergamus, near the public highway. It is also said that he left an only son, Antiorus, on whose death without issue, the family became extinct. His friends and relations, however, instituted a periodical assembly in his memory, which continued to be held for many ages, and they called the days on which they came together, Lycurgidae. Aristocrates the son of Hipparchus says that the friends of Lycurgus, after his death in Crete, burned his body and scattered the ashes into the sea, and that this was done at his request, and because he wished to prevent his remains from ever being carried to Sparta, lest the people there should change his polity, on the plea that he had come back, and that they were therefore released from their oaths. This, then, is what I have to say about Lycurgus.

NUMA

ΝΟΜΑΣ

I. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν Νομᾶ τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνων, καθ' οὓς γέγονε, νεανικὴ διαφορά, καίπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τοῦτον κατάγεσθαι τῶν στεμμάτων ἀκριβῶς δοκούντων. ἀλλὰ Κλώδιός τις ἐν ἐλέγχῳ χρόνων (οὕτω γάρ πως ἐπιγέγραπται τὸ βιβλίον) ἰσχυρίζεται τὰς μὲν ἀρχαίας ἐκείνας ἀναγραφὰς ἐν τοῖς Κελτικοῖς πάθεσι τῆς πόλεως ἠφανίσθαι, τὰς δὲ νῦν φαινομένας οὐκ ἀληθῶς συγκεῖσθαι δι' ἀνδρῶν χαριζομένων τισὶν εἰς τὰ πρῶτα γένη καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους οἴκους ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων
2 εἰσβιαζομένοις. λεγομένου δ' οὖν ὡς Νομᾶς γένοι- 6
το Πυθαγόρου συνήθης, οἱ μὲν ὅλως ἀξιοῦσι μηδὲν Ἑλληνικῆς παιδεύσεως Νομᾷ μετεῖναι, καθάπερ ἢ φύσει δυνατὸν καὶ αὐτάρκη γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ βελτίονι Πυθαγόρου βαρβάρῳ τινὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδοῦναι παίδευσιν· οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν μὲν ὀψὲ γενέσθαι, τῶν Νομᾶ χρόνων
3 ὁμοῦ τι πέντε γενεαῖς ἀπολειπόμενον, Πυθαγόραν δὲ τὸν Σπαρτιάτην Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότα στάδιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκκαιδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἧς ἔτει τρίτῳ Νομᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστη, πλανηθέντα περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν συγγενέσθαι τῷ Νομᾷ καὶ συν-

NUMA

I. There is likewise[1] a vigorous dispute about the time at which King Numa lived, although from the beginning down to him the genealogies seem to be made out accurately. But a certain Clodius, in a book entitled "An Examination of Chronology," insists that the ancient records were lost when the city was sacked by the Gauls,[2] and that those which are now exhibited as such were forged, their compilers wishing to gratify the pride of certain persons by inserting their names among the first families and the most illustrious houses, where they had no cause to appear. Accordingly, when it is said that Numa was an intimate friend of Pythagoras, some deny utterly that Numa had any Greek culture, holding either that he was naturally capable of attaining excellence by his own efforts, or that the culture of the king was due to some Barbarian superior to Pythagoras. Others say that Pythagoras the philosopher lived as many as five generations after Numa, but that there was another Pythagoras, the Spartan, who was Olympic victor in the foot-race for the sixteenth Olympiad[3] (in the third year of which Numa was made king), and that in his wanderings about Italy he made the acquaintance of Numa, and helped him arrange the

[1] Cf. *Lycurgus*, i. 1–3.
[2] 390 B.C. Cf. *Camillus*, xix.–xxix. [3] 657–654 B.C.

διακοσμῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅθεν οὐκ ὀλίγα τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τῶν Λακωνικῶν ἀναμεμῖχθαι Πυθαγόρου διδάξαντος. ἄλλως δὲ Νομᾶς γένος μὲν ἦν ἐκ Σαβίνων, Σαβῖνοι δὲ βούλονται
4 Λακεδαιμονίων ἑαυτοὺς ἀποίκους γεγονέναι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπόν ἐστι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγομένους, ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὀψέ φασιν Ἱππίαν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Ἠλεῖον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὁρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν· ἃ δὲ παρειλήφαμεν ἡμεῖς ἄξια λόγου περὶ Νομᾶ, διέξιμεν ἀρχὴν οἰκείαν λαβόντες.

II. Ἕβδομον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ Ῥώμη καὶ τριακοστὸν ἤδη Ῥωμύλου βασιλεύοντος ᾠκεῖτο· πέμπτῃ δὲ ἰσταμένου μηνός, ἣν νῦν ἡμέραν νώνας Καπρατίνας καλοῦσι, θυσίαν τινὰ δημοτελῆ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἔθυε περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Αἰγὸς ἕλος, καὶ παρῆν ἥ τε βουλὴ καὶ τοῦ δήμου
2 τὸ πλεῖστον. ἐξαίφνης δὲ μεγάλης περὶ τὸν ἀέρα τροπῆς γενομένης καὶ νέφους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐρείσαντος ἅμα πνεύματι καὶ ζάλῃ, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ὅμιλον ἐκπλαγέντα συνέβη φυγεῖν καὶ σκεδασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλον ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι, καὶ μήτε αὐτὸν ἔτι μήτε σῶμα τεθνηκότος εὑρεθῆναι, χαλεπὴν δέ τιν' ὑπόνοιαν ἅψασθαι τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ ῥυῆναι λόγον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατ' αὐτῶν ὡς πάλαι βαρυνόμενοι τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι τὸ κράτος εἰς αὑτοὺς θέλοντες ἀνέλοιεν τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει τραχύτερον ἤδη
3 προσφέρεσθαι καὶ μοναρχικώτερον αὐτοῖς. ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐθεράπευον εἰς θεῶν

government of the city, whence it came about that many Spartan customs were mingled with the Roman, as Pythagoras taught them to Numa. And at all events, Numa was of Sabine descent, and the Sabines will have it that they were colonists from Lacedaemon. Chronology, however, is hard to fix, and especially that which is based on the names of victors in the Olympic games, the list of which is said to have been published at a late period by Hippias of Elis, who had no fully authoritative basis for his work. I shall therefore begin at a convenient point, and relate the noteworthy facts which I have found in the life of Numa.

II. For thirty-seven years, now, Rome had been built and Romulus had been its king; and on the fifth of the month of July, which day they now call the Capratine Nones, Romulus was offering a public sacrifice outside the city at the so-called Goat's Marsh, in the presence of the senate and most of the people. Suddenly there was a great commotion in the air, and a cloud descended upon the earth bringing with it blasts of wind and rain. The throng of common folk were terrified and fled in all directions, but Romulus disappeared, and was never found again either alive or dead. Upon this a grievous suspicion attached itself to the patricians, and an accusing story was current among the people to the effect that they had long been weary of kingly rule, and desired to transfer the power to themselves, and had therefore made away with the king. And indeed it had been noticed for some time that he treated them with greater harshness and arrogance. This suspicion the patricians sought to remove by ascribing divine honours to Romulus,

τιμὰς ἀνάγοντες ὡς οὐ τεθνηκότα τὸν Ῥωμύλον, ἀλλὰ κρείττονος ὄντα μοίρας· καὶ Πρόκλος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής, διωμόσατο Ῥωμύλον ἰδεῖν εἰς οὐρανὸν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀναφερόμενον, καὶ φωνῆς ἀκοῦσαι κελεύοντος αὐτὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι Κυρῖνον.

4 Ἑτέρα δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ στάσις κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι βασιλέως, οὔπω τῶν ἐπηλύδων κομιδῇ τοῖς πρώτοις συγκεκραμένων πολίταις, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῦ τε δήμου πολλὰ κυμαίνοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῶν πατρικίων ἐν ὑποψίαις ἐκ τοῦ διαφόρου πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν ἐδόκει πᾶσιν, ἥρισαν δὲ καὶ διέστησαν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένους, ὁπότερον
5 παρέξει τὸν ἡγεμόνα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μετὰ Ῥωμύλου πρῶτοι συνοικίσαντες τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο πόλεως καὶ χώρας τοὺς Σαβίνους μεταλαβόντας ἄρχειν βιάζεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα δεξαμένων, καὶ τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἦν τις εὐγνώμων λόγος, ἐπεὶ Τατίου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος οὐκ ἐστασίασαν πρὸς Ῥωμύλον, ἀλλ' εἴασαν ἄρχειν μόνον, αὖθις ἀξιούντων τὸν ἄρχοντα γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ ταπεινοτέρων κρείττοσι προσγενέσθαι, καὶ προσγενόμενοι πλήθει τε ῥῶσαι καὶ προαγαγεῖν εἰς ἀξίωμα πόλεως ἐκείνους μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐστασίαζον.

6 Ὅπως δὲ μὴ σύγχυσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας ἡ στάσις ἀπεργάσεται, μετεώρου τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὄντος, ἔταξαν οἱ πατρίκιοι, πεντήκοντα 6

on the ground that he was not dead, but blessed with a better lot. And Proculus, a man of eminence, took oath that he had seen Romulus ascending to heaven in full armour, and had heard his voice commanding that he be called Quirinus.[1]

The city was now beset with fresh disturbance and faction over the king to be appointed in his stead, for the new comers were not yet altogether blended with the original citizens, but the commonalty was still like a surging sea, and the patricians full of jealousy towards one another on account of their different nationalities. It is indeed true that it was the pleasure of all to have a king, but they wrangled and quarrelled, not only about the man who should be their leader, but also about the tribe which should furnish him. For those who had built the city with Romulus at the outset thought it intolerable that the Sabines, after getting a share in the city and its territory, should insist on ruling those who had received them into such privileges ; and the Sabines, since on the death of their king Tatius they had raised no faction against Romulus, but suffered him to rule alone, had a reasonable ground for demanding that now the ruler should come from them. They would not admit that they had added themselves as inferiors to superiors, but held rather that their addition had brought the strength of numbers and advanced both parties alike to the dignity of a city. On these questions, then, they were divided into factions.

But in order that their factions might not produce utter confusion from the absence of all authority, now that the administration of affairs was suspended,

[1] Cf. *Romulus*, xxvii. 3—xxviii. 3.

καὶ ἑκατὸν ὄντων αὐτῶν, ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει τοῖς βασιλικοῖς παρασήμοις κοσμούμενον θύειν τε τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νενομισμένα καὶ χρηματίζειν ἓξ μὲν ὥρας
7 τῆς νυκτός, ἓξ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας. καὶ γὰρ ἡ διανομὴ τῶν καιρῶν ἑκατέρου πρὸς ἰσότητα καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει τοῖς ἄρχουσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἡ μεταβολὴ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρεῖν τὸν φθόνον, ὁρῶντα τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἰδιώτην ἐκ βασιλέως γινόμενον. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς μεσοβασιλείαν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.

III. Ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω πολιτικῶς καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς ἀφηγεῖσθαι δοκοῦντες, ὑπονοίαις καὶ θορύβοις περιέπιπτον, ὡς μεθιστάντες εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν τὰ πράγματα καὶ διαπαιδαγωγοῦντες ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν πολιτείαν, βασιλεύεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν. ἐκ τούτου συνέβησαν ἀμφότεραι πρὸς ἀλλήλας αἱ στάσεις, ὥστε τὴν ἑτέραν ἐκ
2 τῆς ἑτέρας ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα· μάλιστα γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι παύσασθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, καὶ τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἴσον γενέσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἑλομένους ἀγαπῶντα, τοῖς δὲ εὔνουν ὄντα διὰ συγγένειαν. ἐπιτρεψάντων δὲ προτέροις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῶν Σαβίνων τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἔδοξε μᾶλλον ἑλέσθαι Σαβῖνον αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξαντας ἢ παρασχεῖν Ῥωμαῖον ἐκείνων
3 ἑλομένων. καὶ βουλευσάμενοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἐκ Σαβίνων Νομᾶ Πομπίλιον, ἄνδρα τῶν μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπῳκισμένων οὐ γενόμενον,

it was arranged by the senators, who were one hundred and fifty in number,[1] that each of them in his turn should assume the insignia of royalty, make the customary sacrifices to the gods, and transact public business, for the space of six hours by day and six hours by night. This distribution of times seemed well adapted to secure equality between the two factions, and the transfer of power likely to remove all jealousy on the part of the people, when they saw the same man, in the course of a single day and night, become king and then a private citizen again. This form of government the Romans call "interregnum."

III. But although in this way the senators were thought to rule constitutionally and without oppression, they roused suspicions and clamorous charges that they had changed the form of government to an oligarchy, and were holding the state in tutelage among themselves, and were unwilling to be ruled by a king. Therefore it was agreed by both factions that one should appoint a king from the other. This was thought the best way to end their prevailing partisanship, and the king thus appointed would be equally well-disposed to both parties, being gracious to the one as his electors, and friendly to the other because of his kinship with them. Then, as the Sabines gave the Romans their option in the matter, it seemed to them better to have a Sabine king of their own nomination, than to have a Roman made king by the Sabines. They took counsel, therefore, among themselves, and nominated Numa Pompilius from among the Sabines, a man who had not joined the emigrants to Rome,

[1] Cf. *Romulus*, xx. 1.

γνώριμον δ' οὕτω δι' ἀρετὴν ὄντα πᾶσιν ὥστε τῶν ἑλομένων προθυμότερον ὀνομασθέντος αὐτοῦ δέξασθαι τοὺς Σαβίνους. φράσαντες οὖν τῷ δήμῳ τὰ δεδογμένα, πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα κοινῇ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἥκειν δεησομένους καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν.

4 Ἦν δὲ πόλεως μὲν ὁ Νομᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς ἐν Σαβίνοις τῆς Κύρεων, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Κυρίτας Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἀνακραθεῖσι Σαβίνοις προσηγόρευσαν, υἱὸς δὲ Πόμπωνος,[1] ἀνδρὸς εὐδοκίμου, τεσσάρων ἀδελφῶν νεώτατος· ἡμέρᾳ δὲ γεγονὼς κατὰ δή τινα θείαν τύχην ἐν ᾗ τὴν Ῥώμην ἔκτισαν οἱ περὶ Ῥωμύλον· αὕτη δέ
5 ἐστι πρὸ δεκαμιᾶς καλανδῶν Μαΐων. φύσει δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν εὖ κεκραμένος τὸ ἦθος, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐξημέρωσε διὰ παιδείας καὶ κακοπαθείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας,[2] οὐ μόνον τὰ λοιδορούμενα πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐδοκιμοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις βίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενος, ἀνδρείαν δὲ ἀληθῆ τὴν ὑπὸ λόγου τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν αὑτῷ κάθειρξιν ἡγού-
6 μενος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶσαν οἴκοθεν ἅμα τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐξελαύνων, παντὶ δὲ πολίτῃ καὶ ξένῳ χρῆσθαι παρέχων ἑαυτὸν ἄμεμπτον δικαστὴν καὶ σύμβουλον, αὐτὸς δ' ἑαυτῷ σχολάζοντι χρώμενος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡδυπαθείας καὶ πορισμούς, ἀλλὰ θεραπείαν θεῶν καὶ θεωρίαν διὰ λόγου φύσεώς τε αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεως, ὄνομα μέγα καὶ

[1] Πόμπωνος a correction of Πομπωνίου by Sintenis[2] (critical notes), adopted by Bekker, and now confirmed by S.

[2] καὶ φιλοσοφίας omitted by Bekker, with C.

but was so universally celebrated for his virtues that, when he was nominated, the Sabines accepted him with even greater readiness than those who had chosen him. Accordingly, after making their decision known to the people, the leading senators of both parties were sent as ambassadors to Numa, begging him to come and assume the royal power.

Numa belonged to a conspicuous city of the Sabines called Cures, from which the Romans, together with the incorporated Sabines, took the joint name of Quirites. He was a son of Pompon, an illustrious man, and was the youngest of four brothers. He was born, moreover, by some divine felicity, on the very day when Rome was founded by Romulus, that is, the twenty-first day of April.[1] By natural temperament he was inclined to the practice of every virtue, and he had subdued himself still more by discipline, endurance of hardships, and the study of wisdom. He had thus put away from himself not only the infamous passions of the soul, but also that violence and rapacity which are in such high repute among Barbarians, believing that true bravery consisted in the subjugation of one's passions by reason. On this account he banished from his house all luxury and extravagance, and while citizen and stranger alike found in him a faultless judge and counsellor, he devoted his hours of privacy and leisure, not to enjoyments and money-making, but to the service of the gods, and the rational contemplation of their nature and power. In consequence he had a great

[1] Cf. *Romulus*, xii. 1.

δόξαν εἶχεν, ὥστε καὶ Τάτιον τὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
συμβασιλεύσαντα Ῥωμύλῳ, μιᾶς αὐτῷ θυγατρὸς
7 οὔσης Τατίας, ποιήσασθαι γαμβρὸν ἐκεῖνον. οὐ
μὴν ἐπήρθη γε τῷ γάμῳ μετοικίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν
πενθερόν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ περιέπων πατέρα γηραιὸν
ἐν Σαβίνοις ὑπέμενεν, ἅμα καὶ τῆς Τατίας ἑλομέ-
νης τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιωτεύοντος ἡσυχίαν πρὸ τῆς
ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν πατέρα τιμῆς καὶ δόξης. αὕτη
μὲν οὖν λέγεται τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ μετὰ τὸν
γάμον ἔτει τελευτῆσαι.

IV. Ὁ δὲ Νομᾶς ἐκλείπων τὰς ἐν ἄστει δια-
τριβὰς ἀγραυλεῖν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πλανᾶσθαι μόνος
ἤθελεν, ἐν ἄλσεσι θεῶν καὶ λειμῶσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ
τόποις ἐρήμοις ποιούμενος τὴν δίαιταν. ὅθεν 62
οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ περὶ τῆς θεᾶς ἔλαβε
λόγος, ὡς ἄρα Νομᾶς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀδημονίᾳ τινὶ
ψυχῆς καὶ πλάνῃ τὸν μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέ-
2 λοιπε βίον, ἀλλὰ σεμνοτέρας γεγευμένος ὁμιλίας
καὶ γάμων θείων ἠξιωμένος, Ἡγερίᾳ δαίμονι
συνὼν ἐρώσῃ καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ
καὶ τὰ θεῖα πεπνυμένος γέγονεν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν
ταῦτα πολλοῖς τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν μύθων ἔοικεν,
οἷς οἱ Φρύγες τε περὶ Ἄττεω καὶ Βιθυνοὶ περὶ
Ἡροδότου καὶ περὶ Ἐνδυμίωνος Ἀρκάδες ἄλλοι
τε περὶ ἄλλων εὐδαιμόνων δή τινων καὶ θεοφιλῶν
γενέσθαι δοκούντων παραλαβόντες ἠγάπησαν,
3 οὐκ ἄδηλόν ἐστι. καί που λόγον ἔχει τὸν θεόν,
οὐ φίλιππον οὐδὲ φίλορνιν, ἀλλὰ φιλάνθρωπον
ὄντα, τοῖς διαφερόντως ἀγαθοῖς ἐθέλειν συνεῖναι,
καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν μηδὲ ἀτιμάζειν ἀνδρὸς ὁσίου

name and fame, so that Tatius, the royal colleague of Romulus at Rome, made him the husband of his only daughter, Tatia. He was not, however, so exalted by his marriage as to go to dwell with his royal father-in-law, but remained among the Sabines ministering to his aged father. Tatia, too, preferred the quiet life which her husband led as a private citizen to the honour and fame which she had enjoyed at Rome because of her father. But she died, as we are told, in the thirteenth year after her marriage.

IV. Then Numa, forsaking the ways of city folk, determined to live for the most part in country places, and to wander there alone, passing his days in groves of the gods, sacred meadows, and solitudes. This, more than anything else, gave rise to the story about his goddess. It was not, so the story ran, from any distress or aberration of spirit that he forsook the ways of men, but he had tasted the joy of more august companionship and had been honoured with a celestial marriage; the goddess Egeria loved him and bestowed herself upon him, and it was his communion with her that gave him a life of blessedness and a wisdom more than human. However, that this story resembles many of the very ancient tales which the Phrygians have received and cherished concerning Attis, the Bithynians concerning Herodotus, the Arcadians concerning Endymion, and other peoples concerning other mortals who were thought to have achieved a life of blessedness in the love of the gods, is quite evident. And there is some reason in supposing that Deity, who is not a lover of horses or birds, but a lover of men, should be willing to consort with men of superlative goodness, and should not dislike or disdain the company of a wise and holy

καὶ σώφρονος ὁμιλίαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ σώματος ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ ὥρας ἐστί τις θεῷ καὶ δαίμονι κοινωνία καὶ χάρις, ἔργον ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο πεισθῆναι.

4 Καίτοι δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ἀπιθάνως Αἰγύπτιοι διαιρεῖν ὡς γυναικὶ μὲν οὐκ ἀδύνατον πνεῦμα πλησιάσαι θεοῦ καί τινας ἐντεκεῖν ἀρχὰς γενέσεως, ἀνδρὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι σύμμιξις πρὸς θεὸν οὐδὲ ὁμιλία σώματος. ἀγνοοῦσι δὲ ὅτι τὸ μιγνύμενον ᾧ μίγνυται τὴν ἴσην ἀνταποδίδωσι κοινωνίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φιλίαν γε πρὸς ἄνθρωπον εἶναι θεῷ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ λεγόμενον ἔρωτα καὶ φυόμενον εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν ἤθους καὶ ἀρετῆς, πρέπον ἂν εἴη.

5 καὶ οὐ πλημμελοῦσιν οἱ τὸν Φόρβαντα καὶ τὸν Τάκινθον καὶ τὸν Ἄδμητον ἐρωμένους Ἀπόλλωνος γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦντες, ὥσπερ αὖ καὶ τὸν Σικυώνιον Ἱππόλυτον, ᾧ δὴ καί φασιν, ὁσάκις τύχοι διαπλέων εἰς Κίρραν ἐκ Σικυῶνος, τὴν Πυθίαν, οἷον αἰσθανομένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ χαίροντος, ἀποθεσπίζειν τόδε τὸ ἡρῷον·

Καὶ δ' αὖθ' Ἱππολύτοιο φίλον κάρα εἰς ἅλα βαίνει.

6 Πινδάρου δὲ καὶ τῶν μελῶν ἐραστὴν γενέσθαι τὸν Πᾶνα μυθολογοῦσιν. ἀπέδωκε δέ τινα τιμὴν καὶ Ἀρχιλόχῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ τελευτήσασι διὰ τὰς Μούσας τὸ δαιμόνιον. Σοφοκλεῖ δὲ καὶ ζῶντι

man. But that an immortal god should take carnal pleasure in a mortal body and its beauty, this, surely, is hard to believe.

And yet the Aegyptians make a distinction here which is thought plausible, namely, that while a woman can be approached by a divine spirit and made pregnant, there is no such thing as carnal intercourse and communion between a man and a divinity. But they lose sight of the fact that intercourse is a reciprocal matter, and that both parties to it enter into a like communion. However, that a god should have affection for a man, and a so-called love which is based upon affection, and takes the form of solicitude for his character and his virtue, is fit and proper. And therefore it is no mistake when the ancient poets tell their tales of the love Apollo bore Phorbas, Hyacinthus, and Admetus, as well as the Sicyonian Hippolytus also, of whom it is said, that, as often as he set out to sail from Sicyon to Cirrha, the Pythian priestess, as though the god knew of his coming and rejoiced thereat, chanted this prophetic verse :—

"Lo, once more doth beloved Hippolytus hither make voyage."

There is a legend, too, that Pan became enamoured of Pindar and his verses. And the divine powers bestowed signal honour on Archilochus and Hesiod after their deaths, for the sake of the Muses.[1] Again,

[1] The Delphian oracle pronounced a curse on the man who killed Archilochus, because "he had slain the servant of the Muses." And the same oracle told the people of Orchomenus, when a plague had fallen upon them, that "the only remedy was to bring back the bones of Hesiod from the land of Naupactus to the land of Orchomenus."

τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐπιξενωθῆναι λόγος ἐστὶ πολλὰ μέχρι δεῦρο διασώζων τεκμήρια, καὶ τελευτήσαντι τυχεῖν ταφῆς ἄλλος θεός, ὡς λέγεται, παρέσχεν. 7 ἆρα οὖν ἄξιόν ἐστι, ταῦτα συγχωροῦντας ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀπιστεῖν εἰ Ζαλεύκῳ καὶ Μίνῳ καὶ Ζωροάστρῃ καὶ Νομᾷ καὶ Λυκούργῳ βασιλείας κυβερνῶσι καὶ πολιτείας διακοσμοῦσιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐφοίτα τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἢ τούτοις μὲν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ σπουδάζοντας θεοὺς ὁμιλεῖν ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ παραινέσει τῶν βελτίστων, ποιηταῖς δὲ καὶ λυρικοῖς μινυρίζουσιν, εἴπερ ἄρα, χρῆσθαι παίζοντας; 8 εἰ δὲ λέγει τις ἄλλως, κατὰ Βακχυλίδην, "Πλατεῖα κέλευθος." οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄτερος λόγος ἔχει τι φαῦλον, ὃν περὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Νομᾶ καὶ τοιούτων ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν λέγουσιν, ὡς δυσκάθεκτα καὶ δυσάρεστα πλήθη χειρούμενοι καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντες ταῖς πολιτείαις καινοτομίας, προσεποιήσαντο τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις πρὸς οὓς ἐσχηματίζοντο σωτήριον οὖσαν.

V. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτος ἤδη διατελοῦντι τῷ Νομᾷ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἦκον ἀπὸ Ῥώμης οἱ πρέσβεις παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. τοὺς δὲ λόγους ἐποιήσατο Πρόκλος καὶ Οὐέλεσος, ὧν πρότερον ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὁ δῆμος αἱρήσεσθαι τὸν ἕτερον βασιλέα, Πρόκλῳ μὲν τῶν Ῥωμύλου λαῶν, Οὐελέσῳ δὲ τῶν Τατίου μάλιστα προσεχόντων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν βραχέα διελέχθησαν, οἰόμενοι τῷ

there is a story, still well attested, that Sophocles, during his life, was blessed with the friendship of Aesculapius, and that when he died, another deity procured him fitting burial.[1] Is it worth while, then, if we concede these instances of divine favour, to disbelieve that Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroaster, Numa, and Lycurgus, who piloted kingdoms and formulated constitutions, had frequent audience of the Deity? Is it not likely, rather, that the gods are in earnest when they hold converse with such men as these, in order to instruct and advise them in the highest and best way, but use poets and warbling singers, if at all, for their own diversion? However, if any one is otherwise minded, I say with Bacchylides, "Broad is the way."[2] Indeed there is no absurdity in the other account which is given of Lycurgus and Numa and their like, namely, that since they were managing headstrong and captious multitudes, and introducing great innovations in modes of government, they pretended to get a sanction from the god, which sanction was the salvation of the very ones against whom it was contrived.

V. But to resume the story, Numa was already completing his fortieth year when the embassy came from Rome inviting him to take the throne. The speakers were Proculus and Velesus, one or the other of whom the people was expected to choose as their king, Proculus being the favourite of the people of Romulus, and Velesus of the people of Tatius. These speakers, then, were brief, supposing

[1] Dionysus is said to have appeared to Lysander and ordered him to allow Sophocles to be buried in the tomb of his fathers, on the road to Deceleia, then occupied by the Lacedaemonian army. See Pausanias, i. 21, 1, with Frazer's note. [2] Fragment 29 (Jebb, *Bacchylides*, p. 423).

2 Νομᾷ τὴν συντυχίαν ἀσπαζομένῳ γεγονέναι· ἦν δ' οὐ μικρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων πολλῶν καὶ δεήσεως τὸ πεῖσαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι γνώμην ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ βεβιωκότος εἰς ἀρχὴν πόλεως τρόπον τινὰ καὶ γεγενημένης [1] πολέμῳ καὶ συνηυξημένης. ἔλεγεν οὖν τοῦ τε 6
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παρόντος καὶ Μαρκίου, τῶν συγγενῶν ἑνός, ὡς "Πᾶσα μὲν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου μεταβολὴ σφαλερόν· ᾧ δὲ μήτ' ἄπεστί τι τῶν ἱκανῶν μήτε μεμπτόν ἐστι τῶν παρόντων, τοῦτον οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν ἄνοια μετακοσμεῖ καὶ μεθίστησιν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων· οἷς κἂν εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον προσείη,
3 τῷ βεβαιοτέρῳ διαφέρει τῶν ἀδήλων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄδηλα τὰ τῆς βασιλείας τοῖς Ῥωμύλου τεκμαιρομένῳ παθήμασιν, ὡς πονηρὰν μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλαβε δόξαν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ συνάρχοντι Τατίῳ, πονηρὰν δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις περιεποίησεν ὡς ἀνῃρημένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν. καίτοι Ῥωμύλον μὲν οὗτοι παῖδα θεῶν ὑμνοῦσι φήμαις, καὶ τροφήν τινα δαιμόνιον αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτηρίαν ἄπιστον ἔτι νηπίου λέγουσιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ γένος θνητόν ἐστι καὶ τροφὴ καὶ παίδευσις ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ὧν οὐκ
4 ἀγνοεῖτε γεγενημένη· τὰ δ' ἐπαινούμενα τοῦ τρόπου βασιλεύειν πόρρω μέλλοντος ἀνδρός, ἡσυχία τε πολλὴ καὶ διατριβὴ περὶ λόγους ἀπράγμονας, ὅ τε δεινὸς οὗτος καὶ σύντροφος εἰρήνης ἔρως καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπολέμων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τιμῇ θεῶν καὶ φιλοφροσύναις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνιόντων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γεωργούντων ἢ

[1] γεγενημένης Bekker has γεγεννημένης (*born*), after Coraës.

that Numa would welcome his good fortune. It was, however, no slight task, but one requiring much argument and entreaty, to persuade and induce a man who had lived in peace and quiet, to accept the government of a city which owed its existence and growth, in a fashion, to war. His reply, therefore, in the presence of his father and one of his kinsmen named Marcius, was as follows. "Every change in a man's life is perilous; but when a man knows no lack, and has no fault to find with his present lot, nothing short of madness can change his purposes and remove him from his wonted course of life, which, even though it have no other advantage, is at least fixed and secure, and therefore better than one which is all uncertain. But the lot of one who becomes your king cannot even be called uncertain, judging from the experience of Romulus, since he himself was accused of basely plotting against his colleague Tatius, and involved the patricians in the charge of having basely put their king out of the way. And yet those who bring these accusations laud Romulus as a child of the gods, and tell how he was preserved in an incredible way and fed in a miraculous manner when he was still an infant. But I am of mortal birth, and I was nourished and trained by men whom you know. Moreover, the very traits in my disposition which are commended, are far from marking a man destined to be a king, namely, my great love of retirement, my devotion to studies inconsistent with the usual activities of men, and my well-known strong and inveterate love of peace, of unwarlike occupations, and of men who come together only for the worship of the gods and for friendly intercourse, but who otherwise live by themselves as

νεμόντων. ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πολλοὺς μὲν ἴσως ἀβουλήτους ἀπολέλοιπε πολέμους Ῥωμύλος, οἷς ἀντερείδοντος ἡ πόλις ἐμπείρου δεῖται βασιλέως καὶ ἀκμάζοντος· πολλὴ δὲ καὶ συνήθεια καὶ προθυμία δι' εὐτυχίαν γέγονε τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ οὐδένα λέληθεν αὔξεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ἑτέρων βουλόμενος, ὥστε καὶ γέλως ἂν εἴη τἀμά, θεραπεύοντος θεούς, καὶ δίκην τιμᾶν, βίαν δὲ καὶ πόλεμον ἐχθαίρειν διδάσκοντος πόλιν στρατηλάτου μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέως δεομένην."

VI. Τοιούτοις λόγοις ἀφοσιουμένου τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι πᾶσαν ἐποιοῦντο σπουδὴν ἀντιβολοῦντες καὶ δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς αὖθις εἰς στάσιν ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, οὐκ ὄντος ἑτέρου πρὸς ὃν ἀμφότεραι συννεύσουσιν αἱ στάσεις, ὅ τε πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκείνων μεταστάντων ἰδίᾳ προσκείμενοι τὸν Νομᾶν ἔπει-
2 θον δέχεσθαι μέγα καὶ θεῖον δῶρον. "Εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς οὔτε πλούτου δέῃ δι' αὐτάρκειαν οὔτε δόξαν ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας ἐζήλωκας κρείσσονα τὴν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὑπηρεσίαν γε θεοῦ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἡγούμενος, ὅς γε ἀνίστησι καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ κεῖσθαι καὶ ἀργεῖν τὴν ἐν σοὶ τοσαύτην δικαιοσύνην, μὴ φεῦγε μηδὲ ἀποδίδρασκε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ πράξεων καλῶν καὶ μεγάλων οὖσαν χώραν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ θεραπεῖαι θεῶν μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰσι καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀνθρώπων ἡμερώσεις ῥᾷστα καὶ τάχιστα μετακοσμουμένων ὑπὸ

tillers of the soil or herdsmen. Whereas, unto you, O Romans, whether you want them or not, Romulus has bequeathed many wars, and to make head against these the city needs a king with a warrior's experience and strength. Besides, the people has become much accustomed to war, and eager for it because of their successes, and no one is blind to their desire for growth by conquest. I should therefore become a laughing-stock if I sought to serve the gods, and taught men to honour justice and hate violence and war, in a city which desires a leader of its armies rather than a king."

VI. With such words did Numa decline the kingdom. Then the Romans put forth every effort to meet his objections, and begged him not to plunge them again into faction and civil war, since there was none other on whom both parties could unite. His father also and Marcius, when the envoys had withdrawn, beset him privately, and tried to persuade him to accept so great a gift of the gods. "Even though," they said, "thou neither desirest wealth for thyself, because thou hast enough, nor covetest the fame which comes from authority and power, because thou hast the greater fame which comes from virtue, yet consider that the work of a true king is a service rendered to God, who now rouses up and refuses to leave dormant and inactive the great righteousness which is within thee. Do not, therefore, avoid nor flee from this office, which a wise man will regard as a field for great and noble actions, where the gods are honoured with magnificent worship, and the hearts of men are easily and quickly softened and inclined towards piety, through the moulding influence of their ruler. This people

3 τοῦ κρατοῦντος. οὗτοι καὶ Τάτιον ἔστερξαν ἔπηλυν ἡγεμόνα, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμύλου μνήμην ἀποθεοῦσι ταῖς τιμαῖς. τίς δὲ οἶδεν εἰ καὶ νικῶντι δήμῳ πολέμου κόρος ἐστί, καὶ μεστοὶ θριάμβων καὶ λαφύρων γεγονότες ἡγεμόνα πρᾷον καὶ δίκης ἑταῖρον ἐπ' εὐνομίᾳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ ποθοῦσιν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀκρατῶς ἔχουσι καὶ μανικῶς πρὸς πόλεμον, ἆρ' οὐχὶ βέλτιον ἀλλαχόσε τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν τρέπειν, διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα τὰς ἡνίας, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι καὶ παντὶ τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει σύνδεσμον εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας πρὸς πόλιν ἀκμά-
4 ζουσαν καὶ δυνατὴν γενέσθαι;" τούτοις προσῆν, ὡς λέγεται, σημεῖά τε χρηστὰ καὶ σπουδὴ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ζῆλος, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν πρεσβείαν, δεομένων βαδίζειν καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ συγκράσει τῶν πολιτῶν.[1]

VII. Ὡς οὖν ἐδέδοκτο, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς προῆγεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. ἀπήντα δὲ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔρωτι θαυμαστῷ τοῦ ἀνδρός, εὐφημίαι τε πρέπουσαι γυναικῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ θυσίαι πρὸς 6
ἱεροῖς καὶ χαρὰ πάντων, ὥσπερ οὐ βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ βασιλείαν δεχομένης. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κατέστησαν, ὁ μὲν ταῖς ὥραις ἐκείναις συνειληχὼς μεσοβασιλεὺς Σπόριος Οὐέττιος ψῆφον ἐπέδωκε τοῖς πολίταις καὶ πάντες ἤνεγκαν, προσφερομένων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν βασιλικῶν παρασήμων ἐπισχεῖν κελεύσας ἔφη δεῖσθαι καὶ θεοῦ
2 τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμπεδοῦντος αὐτῷ. παραλαβὼν

[1] πολιτῶν MSS. and edd., including Sintenis[1]. Bekker corrects to πόλεων (*cities*), and is followed by Sintenis[2].

loved Tatius, though he was a foreign prince, and they pay divine honours to the memory of Romulus. And who knows but that the people, even though victorious, is sated with war, and, now that it is glutted with triumphs and spoils, is desirous of a gentle prince, who is a friend of justice, and will lead them in the paths of order and peace? But if, indeed, they are altogether intemperate and mad in their desire for war, then were it not better that thou, holding the reins of government in thy hand, shouldst turn their eager course another way, and that thy native city and the whole Sabine nation should have in thee a bond of goodwill and friendship with a vigorous and powerful city?" These appeals were strengthened, we are told, by auspicious omens and by the zealous ardour of his fellow-citizens, who, when they learned of the embassy from Rome, begged him to return with it and assume the royal power there, in order to unite and blend together the citizens.

VII. Numa therefore decided to yield, and after sacrificing to the gods, set out for Rome. The senate and people met him on his way, filled with a wondrous love of the man; women welcomed him with fitting cries of joy; sacrifices were offered in the temples, and joy was universal, as if the city were receiving, not a king, but a kingdom. When they were come down into the forum, Spurius Vettius, whose lot it was to be "interrex"[1] at that hour, called for a vote of the citizens, and all voted for Numa. But when the insignia of royalty were brought to him, he bade the people pause, and said his authority must first be ratified by Heaven. Then

[1] Cf. chapter ii. 7.

δὲ μάντεις καὶ ἱερεῖς ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· Ταρπήϊον αὐτὸ λόφον οἱ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι προσηγόρευον. ἐνταῦθα τῶν μάντεων ὁ πρωτεύων τὸν μὲν εἰς μεσημβρίαν τρέψας ἐγκεκαλυμμένον, αὐτὸς δὲ παραστὰς ἐξόπισθεν καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτοῦ κατεύξατο, καὶ περιεσκόπει τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐν οἰωνοῖς ἢ συμβόλοις προφαινόμενα, πανταχόσε τὰς ὄψεις
3 περιφέρων. σιγὴ δὲ ἄπιστος ἐν πλήθει τοσούτῳ τὴν ἀγορὰν κατεῖχε καραδοκούντων καὶ συναιωρουμένων τῷ μέλλοντι, μέχρι οὗ προὐφάνησαν ὄρνιθες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δεξιοὶ ἐπέτρεψαν.[1] οὕτω δὲ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα κατέβαινε Νομᾶς εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας. τότε δὲ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ δεξιώσεις ἦσαν ὡς εὐσεβέστατον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον δεχομένων.

4 Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων σύστημα διέλυσεν, οὓς Ῥωμύλος ἔχων ἀεὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα Κέλερας προσηγόρευσεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ταχεῖς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν πιστεύουσιν οὔτε βασιλεύειν ἀπιστούντων ἠξίου. δεύτερον δὲ τοῖς οὖσιν ἱερεῦσι Διὸς καὶ Ἄρεως τρίτον Ῥωμύλου προσκατέστησεν, ὃν Φλάμινα Κυρι-
5 νάλιον ὠνόμασεν. ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς προγενεστέρους Φλάμινας ἀπὸ τῶν περικρανίων πίλων οὓς περὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι, πιλαμένας τινὰς ὄντας, ὡς ἱστοροῦσι, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν τοῖς Λατίνοις ἀνακεκραμένων. καὶ γὰρ ἃς ἐφόρουν οἱ ἱερεῖς λαίνας ὁ

[1] καὶ δεξιοὶ ἐπέτρεψαν with S : καὶ δεξιοὶ καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν.

taking with him the augurs and priests, he ascended the Capitol, which the Romans of that time called the Tarpeian Hill. There the chief of the augurs turned the veiled head of Numa towards the south, while he himself, standing behind him, and laying the right hand on his head, prayed aloud, and turned his eyes in all directions to observe whatever birds or other omens might be sent from the gods. Then an incredible silence fell upon the vast multitude in the forum, who watched in eager suspense for the issue, until at last auspicious birds appeared and approached the scene on the right. Then Numa put on his royal robes and went down from the citadel to the multitude, where he was received with glad cries of welcome as the most pious of men and most beloved of the gods.

His first measure on assuming the government was to disband the body of three hundred men that Romulus always kept about his person, and called "Celeres" (that is, *swift ones*[1]); for he would not consent to distrust those who trusted him, nor to reign over those who distrusted him. His second measure was to add to the two priests of Jupiter and Mars a third priest of Romulus, whom he called the Flamen Quirinalis. Now before this time the Romans called their priests "flamines," from the close-fitting "piloi," or *caps*, which they wear upon their heads, and which have the longer name of "pilamenai," as we are told, there being more Greek words mingled with the Latin at that time than now.[2] Thus also the name "laena," which the Romans

[1] Cf. *Romulus*, xxvi. 2.

[2] Cf. *Romulus*, xv. 3. Plutarch does not hesitate to derive the Latin "flamines" from the doubtful Greek "pilamenai."

Ἰόβας χλαίνας φησὶν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετοῦντα τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα λέγεσθαι Κάμιλλον, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν οὕτως ἔνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Κάμιλλον[1] ἀπὸ τῆς διακονίας προσηγόρευον.

VIII. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Νομᾶς ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοῦ δήμου πολιτευσάμενος εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ σίδηρον, ἐκ σκληρᾶς καὶ πολεμικῆς μαλακωτέραν ποιῆσαι καὶ δικαιοτέραν. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ἦν Πλάτων ἀποκαλεῖ φλεγμαίνουσαν πόλιν ἐκείνη τότ' ἦν, συστᾶσα μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τόλμῃ τινὶ καὶ παραβόλῳ θρασύτητι τῶν θρασυτάτων καὶ μαχιμωτάτων ἐκεῖ παντα-
2 χόθεν ὠσαμένων, ταῖς δὲ πολλαῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς συνεχέσι πολέμοις τροφῇ χρησαμένη καὶ αὐξήσει τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ καθάπερ τὰ καταπηγνύμενα τῷ σείεσθαι μᾶλλον ἑδράζεται, ῥώννυσθαι δοκοῦσα διὰ τῶν κινδύνων. οὕτω δὴ μετέωρον καὶ τετραχυμένον δῆμον οὐ μικρᾶς οὐδὲ φαύλης οἰόμενος εἶναι πραγματείας μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ μετακοσμῆσαι πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἐπηγά-
3 γετο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν βοήθειαν, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ θυσίαις καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ χορείαις, ἃς αὐτὸς ὠργίασε καὶ κατέστησεν, ἅμα σεμνότητι διαγωγὴν ἐπίχαριν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἡδονὴν ἐχούσαις, δημαγωγῶν καὶ τιθασεύων τὸ θυμοειδὲς καὶ φιλοπόλεμον· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ φόβους τινὰς ἀπαγγέλλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φάσματα δαιμόνων ἀλλόκοτα καὶ φωνὰς οὐκ εὐμενεῖς, ἐδούλου καὶ

[1] Κάμιλλον deleted by Bekker; corrected to Καδμῖλον by Sintenis[2].

give to the priestly mantle, Juba says is the same as the Greek "chlaina"; and that the name Camillus, which the Romans give to the boy with both parents living who attends upon the priest of Jupiter, is the same as that which some of the Greeks give to Hermes, from his office of attendant.

VIII. After taking such measures to secure the goodwill and favour of the people, Numa straightway attempted to soften the city, as iron is softened in the fire, and change its harsh and warlike temper into one of greater gentleness and justice. For if a city was ever in what Plato calls[1] a "feverish" state, Rome certainly was at that time. It was brought into being at the very outset by the excessive daring and reckless courage of the boldest and most warlike spirits, who forced their way thither from all parts, and in its many expeditions and its continuous wars it found nourishment and increase of its power; and just as what is planted in the earth gets a firmer seat the more it is shaken, so Rome seemed to be made strong by its very perils. And therefore Numa, judging it to be no slight or trivial undertaking to mollify and newly fashion for peace so presumptuous and stubborn a people, called in the gods to aid and assist him. It was for the most part by sacrifices, processions, and religious dances, which he himself appointed and conducted, and which mingled with their solemnity a diversion full of charm and a beneficent pleasure, that he won the people's favour and tamed their fierce and warlike tempers. At times, also, by heralding to them vague terrors from the god, strange apparitions of divine beings and threatening voices, he would subdue and humble

[1] Cf. *Lycurgus*, v. 6.

ταπεινὴν ἐποιει τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ δεισιδαι-
4 μονίας. ἐξ ὧν καὶ μάλιστα λόγον ἔσχεν ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ παίδευσις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς Πυθαγόρᾳ συγγεγονότος. μέγα γὰρ ἦν μέρος, ὡς ἐκείνῳ τῆς φιλοσοφίας, καὶ τούτῳ τῆς πολιτείας ἡ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἁγιστεία[1] καὶ διατριβή. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔξωθεν ὄγκον καὶ σχηματισμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
5 αὐτῆς Πυθαγόρᾳ διανοίας περιβαλέσθαι. καὶ 65
γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀετόν τε δοκεῖ πραῦναι, φωναῖς τισιν ἐπιστήσας καὶ καταγαγὼν ὑπερπτάμενον, τόν τε μηρὸν ὑποφῆναι χρυσοῦν Ὀλυμπίασι διαπορευόμενος τὴν πανήγυριν· ἄλλας τε τερατώδεις μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξεις ἀναγγέλλουσιν, ἐφ' αἷς καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ἔγραψε·

Πυθαγόρην δὲ γόητας ἀποκλίνοντ' ἐπὶ δόξας
θήρῃ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων, σεμνηγορίης ὀαριστήν·

6 τῷ δὲ Νομᾷ δρᾶμα θεᾶς τινος ἢ νύμφης ὀρείας ἔρως ἦν καὶ συνουσία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπόρρητος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ κοιναὶ μετὰ Μουσῶν διατριβαί. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν μαντευμάτων εἰς Μούσας ἀνῆγε, καὶ μίαν Μοῦσαν ἰδίως καὶ διαφερόντως ἐδίδαξε σέβεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, Τακίταν προσαγορεύσας, οἷον σιωπηλὴν ἢ ἐνεάν· ὅπερ εἶναι δοκεῖ τὴν Πυθαγόρειον ἀπομνημονεύοντος ἐχεμυθίαν καὶ τιμῶντος.

7 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων νομοθετήματα παντάπασιν ἀδελφὰ τῶν Πυθαγόρου

[1] ἁγιστεία Bryan's correction, after Amyot, adopted by Coraës and Bekker: ἀγχιστεία (*relationship*).

their minds by means of superstitious fears. This was the chief reason why Numa's wisdom and culture were said to have been due to his intimacy with Pythagoras; for in the philosophy of the one, and in the civil polity of the other, religious services and occupations have a large place. It is said also that the solemnity of his outward demeanour was adopted by him because he shared the feelings of Pythagoras about it. That philosopher, indeed, is thought to have tamed an eagle, which he stopped by certain cries of his, and brought down from his lofty flight; also to have disclosed his golden thigh as he passed through the assembled throngs at Olympia. And we have reports of other devices and performances of his which savoured of the marvellous, regarding which Timon the Phliasian wrote:—

"Down to a juggler's level he sinks with his cheating devices,
Laying his nets for men, Pythagoras, lover of bombast."

In like manner Numa's fiction was the love which a certain goddess or mountain nymph bore him, and her secret meetings with him, as already mentioned,[1] and his familiar converse with the Muses. For he ascribed the greater part of his oracular teachings to the Muses, and he taught the Romans to pay especial honours to one Muse in particular, whom he called Tacita, that is, *the silent*, or *speechless one*; thereby perhaps handing on and honouring the Pythagorean precept of silence.

Furthermore, his ordinances concerning images are altogether in harmony with the doctrines of

δογμάτων. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος αἰσθητὸν ἢ παθητόν, ἀόρατον δὲ καὶ ἄκτιστον[1] καὶ νοητὸν ὑπελάμβανεν εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον, οὔτός τε διεκώλυσεν ἀνθρωποειδῆ καὶ ζῳόμορφον εἰκόνα θεοῦ Ῥωμαίους νομίζειν. οὐδ' ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε γραπτὸν
8 οὔτε πλαστὸν εἶδος θεοῦ πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα τοῖς πρώτοις ἔτεσι ναοὺς μὲν οἰκοδομούμενοι καὶ καλιάδας ἱερὰς ἱστῶντες, ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐδὲν ἔμμορφον ποιούμενοι διετέλουν, ὡς οὔτε ὅσιον ἀφομοιοῦν τὰ βελτίονα τοῖς χείροσιν οὔτε ἐφάπτεσθαι θεοῦ δυνατὸν ἄλλως ἢ νοήσει. κομιδῇ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἔχεται τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς ἁγιστείας· ἀναίμακτοι γὰρ ἦσαν αἵ γε πολλαί, δι' ἀλφίτου καὶ σπονδῆς καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων πεποιημέναι.

9 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἑτέροις ἔξωθεν ἐπαγωνίζονται τεκμηρίοις οἱ τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ ἀνδρὶ συνοικειοῦντες. ὧν ἓν μέν ἐστιν ὅτι Πυθαγόραν Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσέγραψαν, ὡς ἱστόρηκεν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ κωμικὸς ἔν τινι λόγῳ πρὸς Ἀντήνορα γεγραμμένῳ, παλαιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς διατριβῆς μετεσχηκώς· ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι τεσσάρων υἱῶν βασιλεῖ Νομᾷ γενομένων ἕνα Μάμερκον ἐπὶ τῷ
10 Πυθαγόρου παιδὶ προσηγόρευσεν. ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ τὸν Αἰμιλίων οἶκον ἀναμιχθέντα τοῖς πατρικίοις ὀνομασθῆναί φασιν, οὕτως ὑποκοριζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αἱμυλίαν καὶ χάριν. αὐτοὶ δ' ἀκηκόαμεν πολλῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διεξιόντων ὅτι χρησμοῦ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις

[1] ἄκτιστον Sintenis[1] with AC, followed by Bekker: ἀκήρατον (*unmixed*).

Pythagoras. For that philosopher maintained that the first principle of being was beyond sense or feeling, was invisible and uncreated, and discernible only by the mind. And in like manner Numa forbade the Romans to revere an image of God which had the form of man or beast. Nor was there among them in this earlier time any painted or graven likeness of Deity, but while for the first hundred and seventy years they were continually building temples and establishing sacred shrines, they made no statues in bodily form for them, convinced that it was impious to liken higher things to lower, and that it was impossible to apprehend Deity except by the intellect. Their sacrifices, too, were altogether appropriate to the Pythagorean worship; for most of them involved no bloodshed, but were made with flour, drink-offerings, and the least costly gifts.

And apart from these things, other external proofs are urged to show that the two men were acquainted with each other. One of these is that Pythagoras was enrolled as a citizen of Rome. This fact is recorded by Epicharmus the comic poet, in a certain treatise which he dedicated to Antenor; and Epicharmus was an ancient, and belonged to the school of Pythagoras. Another proof is that one of the four sons born to king Numa was named Mamercus, after the son of Pythagoras. And from him they say that the patrician family of the Aemilii took its name, Aemilius being the endearing name which the king gave him for the grace and *winsomeness* of his speech. Moreover, I myself have heard many people at Rome recount how, when an oracle once commanded the

γενομένου τὸν φρονιμώτατον καὶ τὸν ἀνδρειότατον Ἑλλήνων ἱδρύσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς δύο, τὴν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου, τὴν δὲ Πυθαγόρου. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχοντα πολλὰς καὶ τὸ κινεῖν διὰ μακροτέρων καὶ τὸ πιστοῦσθαι[1] μειρακιώδους ἐστὶ φιλονεικίας.

IX. Νομᾷ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, οὓς Ποντίφικας καλοῦσι, διάταξιν καὶ κατάστασιν ἀποδιδόασι, καί φασιν αὐτὸν ἕνα τούτων τὸν πρῶτον γεγονέναι. κεκλῆσθαι δὲ τοὺς Ποντίφικας οἱ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύουσι δυνατοὺς καὶ κυρίους ἁπάντων ὄντας· ὁ γὰρ δυνατὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀνομάζεται
2 πότηνς· ἕτεροι δέ φασι πρὸς ὑπεξαίρεσιν γεγονέναι τοὔνομα τῶν δυνατῶν, ὡς τοῦ νομοθέτου τὰς δυνατὰς ἐπιτελεῖν ἱερουργίας τοὺς ἱερεῖς κελεύοντος, ἂν δὲ ᾖ τι κώλυμα μεῖζον, οὐ συκοφαντοῦντος. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι μάλιστα καὶ τὸ γελώμενον τῶν ὀνομάτων δοκιμάζουσιν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ γεφυροποιοὺς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπικληθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν ποιουμένων περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἱερῶν, ἁγιωτάτων καὶ παλαιοτάτων ὄντων· πόντεμ γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι
3 τὴν γέφυραν ὀνομάζουσιν. εἶναι μέντοι καὶ τὴν τήρησιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἐπισκευήν, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀκινήτων καὶ πατρίων ἱερῶν, προσήκουσαν 6
τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπάρατον ἡγεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ξυλίνης γεφύρας. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ πάμπαν ἄνευ σιδήρου

[1] πιστοῦσθαι a correction of Reiske's, accepted by Coraës and Bekker: πιστεύεσθαι (*believe*).

Romans to erect in their city monuments to the wisest and the bravest of the Greeks, they set up in the forum two statues in bronze, one of Alcibiades, and one of Pythagoras.[1] However, since the matter of Numa's acquaintance with Pythagoras is involved in much dispute, to discuss it at greater length, and to win belief for it, would savour of youthful contentiousness.

IX. To Numa is also ascribed the institution of that order of high priests who are called Pontifices, and he himself is said to have been the first of them. According to some they are called Pontifices because employed in the service of the gods, who are *powerful* and supreme over all the world; and "potens" is the Roman word for *powerful*. Others say that the name was meant to distinguish between *possible* and impossible functions; the lawgiver enjoining upon these priests the performance of such sacred offices only as were *possible*, and finding no fault with them if any serious obstacle prevented. But most writers give an absurd explanation of the name; Pontifices means, they say, nothing more nor less than *bridge-builders*, from the sacrifices which they performed at the bridge over the Tiber, sacrifices of the greatest antiquity and the most sacred character; for "pons" is the Latin word for *bridge*. They say, moreover, that the custody and maintenance of the bridge, like all the other inviolable and ancestral rites, attached to the priesthood, for the Romans held the demolition of the wooden bridge to be not only unlawful, but actually sacrilegious. It is also said

[1] According to the elder Pliny (*N.H.* xxxiv. 12), these statues stood in the comitium at Rome from the time of the Samnite wars (343–290 B.C.) down to that of Sulla (138–78 B.C.).

κατὰ δή τι λόγιον συγγεγομφῶσθαι διὰ τῶν ξύλων. ἡ δὲ λιθίνη πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐξειργάσθη
4 χρόνοις ὑπ' Αἰμιλίου ταμιεύοντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ξυλίνην τῶν Νομᾶ χρόνων ἀπολείπεσθαι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ Μαρκίου τοῦ Νομᾶ θυγατριδοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἀποτελεσθεῖσαν.

Ὁ δὲ μέγιστος τῶν Ποντιφίκων οἷον ἐξηγητοῦ καὶ προφήτου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἱεροφάντου τάξιν εἴληχεν, οὐ μόνον[1] τῶν δημοσίᾳ δρωμένων ἐπιμελούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίᾳ θύοντας ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ κωλύων παρεκβαίνειν τὰ νενομισμένα, καὶ διδάσκων ὅτου τις δέοιτο πρὸς θεῶν τιμὴν ἢ παραί-
5 τησιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἐπίσκοπος, ἃς Ἑστιάδας προσαγορεύουσι. Νομᾷ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων καθιέρωσιν καὶ ὅλως τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀθάνατον, ὃ φυλάττουσιν αὗται, θεραπείαν τε καὶ τιμὴν ἀποδιδόασιν, εἴτε ὡς καθαρὰν καὶ ἄφθαρτον τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσίαν ἀκηράτοις καὶ ἀμιάντοις παρατιθεμένου σώμασιν, εἴτε τὸ ἄκαρπον καὶ ἄγονον τῇ παρθενίᾳ συνοικειοῦντος. ἐπεί τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅπου πῦρ ἄσβεστόν ἐστιν, ὡς Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ παρθένοι, γυναῖκες δὲ πεπαυμέναι γάμων ἔχουσι
6 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὸ τύχης τινὸς ἐκλίπῃ, καθάπερ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀριστίωνος λέγεται τυραννίδος ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸν ἱερὸν λύχνον, ἐν Δελφοῖς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ καταπρησθέντος ὑπὸ Μήδων, περὶ δὲ τὰ Μιθριδατικὰ καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ἅμα τῷ βωμῷ τὸ

[1] *μόνον* with most MSS. (including S) and edd. : *μόνων*.

that it was built entirely without iron and fastened together with wooden pins in obedience to an oracle. The stone bridge was constructed at a much later period, when Aemilius was quaestor.[1] However, it is said that the wooden bridge also was later than the time of Numa, and was completed by Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa by his daughter, when he was king.

The chief of the Pontifices, the Pontifex Maximus, had the duty of expounding and interpreting the divine will, or rather of directing sacred rites, not only being in charge of public ceremonies, but also watching over private sacrifices and preventing any departure from established custom, as well as teaching whatever was requisite for the worship or propitiation of the gods. He was also overseer of the holy virgins called Vestals; for to Numa is ascribed the consecration of the Vestal virgins, and in general the worship and care of the perpetual fire entrusted to their charge. It was either because he thought the nature of fire pure and uncorrupted, and therefore entrusted it to chaste and undefiled persons, or because he thought of it as unfruitful and barren, and therefore associated it with virginity. Since wherever in Greece a perpetual fire is kept, as at Delphi and Athens, it is committed to the charge, not of virgins, but of widows past the age of marriage. And if by any chance it goes out, as at Athens during the tyranny of Aristion[2] the sacred lamp is said to have been extinguished, and at Delphi when the temple was burned by the Medes, and as during the Mithridatic and the Roman civil wars the altar was demolished

[1] 179 B.C.

[2] 88–86 B.C. Cf. *Lucullus*, xix. 6; *Sulla*, xiii. 3.

πῦρ ἠφανίσθη, οὗ φασι δεῖν ἀπὸ ἑτέρου πυρὸς ἐναύεσθαι, καινὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ νέον, ἀνάπτοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον.
7 ἐξάπτουσι δὲ μάλιστα τοῖς σκαφείοις, ἃ κατασκευάζεται μὲν ἀπὸ πλευρᾶς ἰσοσκελοῦς ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου κοιλαινόμενα, συννεύει δ' εἰς ἓν ἐκ τῆς περιφερείας κέντρον. ὅταν οὖν θέσιν ἐναντίαν λάβῃ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ὥστε τὰς αὐγὰς παντα-χόθεν ἀνακοπτομένας ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι περὶ τὸ κέντρον, αὐτόν τε διακρίνει τὸν ἀέρα λεπτυνόμενον, καὶ τὰ κουφότατα καὶ ξηρότατα τῶν προστιθεμένων ὀξέως ἀνάπτει κατὰ τὴν ἀντέρεισιν, σῶμα καὶ πληγὴν πυρώδη τῆς
8 αὐγῆς λαβούσης. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ ἄσβεστον ἐκεῖνο φρουρεῖσθαι πῦρ νομίζουσιν· ἔνιοι δὲ εἶναί τινά φασιν ἀθέατα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερὰ κρυπτόμενα, περὶ ὧν ὅσα καὶ πυθέσθαι καὶ φράσαι θεμιτὸν ἐν τῷ Καμίλλου βίῳ γέγραπται.

X. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Νομᾶ καθιερωθῆναι λέγουσι Γεγανίαν καὶ Βερηνίαν, δεύτερον δὲ Κανουληΐαν καὶ Ταρπηΐαν· ὕστερον δὲ Σερβίου δύο προσθέντος ἄλλας τῷ ἀριθμῷ διατηρεῖσθαι[1] μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τούτων τὸ πλῆθος. ὡρίσθη δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἁγνεία τριακονταέτις, ἐν ᾗ τὴν μὲν πρώτην δεκαετίαν ἃ χρὴ δρᾶν μανθάνουσι, τὴν δὲ μέσην ἃ μεμαθήκασι δρῶσι, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἑτέρας αὐταὶ διδάσκουσιν.
2 εἶτα ἀνεῖται τῇ βουλομένῃ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ-

[1] διατηρεῖσθαι the correction of Coraës, adopted by Bekker: διατηρῆσαι.

and the fire extinguished, then they say it must not be kindled again from other fire, but made fresh and new, by lighting a pure and unpolluted flame from the rays of the sun. And this they usually effect by means of metallic mirrors, the concavity of which is made to follow the sides of an isosceles rectangular triangle, and which converge from their circumference to a single point in the centre. When, therefore, these are placed opposite the sun, so that its rays, as they fall upon them from all sides, are collected and concentrated at the centre, the air itself is rarefied there, and very light and dry substances placed there quickly blaze up from its resistance, the sun's rays now acquiring the substance and force of fire. Some, moreover, are of the opinion that nothing but this perpetual fire is guarded by the sacred virgins; while some say that certain sacred objects, which none others may behold, are kept in concealment by them. What may lawfully be learned and told about these things, I have written in my Life of Camillus.[1]

X. In the beginning, then, they say that Gegania and Verenia were consecrated to this office by Numa, who subsequently added to them Canuleia and Tarpeia; that at a later time two others were added by Servius, making the number which has continued to the present time. It was ordained by the king that the sacred virgins should vow themselves to chastity for thirty years; during the first decade they are to learn their duties, during the second to perform the duties they have learned, and during the third to teach others these duties. Then, the thirty years being now passed, any one who

[1] Chapter xx. 3–6.

τον ἤδη καὶ γάμου μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον τραπέσθαι βίον, ἀπαλλαγείσῃ τῆς ἱερουργίας. λέγονται δὲ οὐ πολλαὶ ταύτην ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν ἄδειαν, οὐδὲ ἀσπασαμέναις χρηστὰ πράγματα συντυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ μετανοίᾳ καὶ κατηφείᾳ συνοῦσαι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐμβαλεῖν τὰς ἄλλας εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν, ὥστε μέχρι γήρως καὶ θανάτου διατελεῖν ἐγκαρτερούσας καὶ παρθενευομένας.

3 Τιμὰς δὲ μεγάλας ἀπέδωκεν αὐταῖς, ὧν ἔστι καὶ τὸ διαθέσθαι ζῶντος ἐξεῖναι πατρὸς καὶ τἆλλα πράττειν ἄνευ προστάτου διαγούσας, ὥσπερ αἱ τρίπαιδες. ῥαβδουχοῦνται δὲ προϊοῦσαι· κἂν ἀγομένῳ τινὶ πρὸς θάνατον αὐτομάτως συντύχωσιν, οὐκ ἀναιρεῖται. δεῖ δὲ ἀπομόσαι τὴν παρθένον ἀκούσιον καὶ τυχαίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐξεπίτηδες γεγονέναι τὴν ἀπάντησιν. ὁ δὲ ὑπελθὼν κομιζο- 67
4 μένων ὑπὸ τὸ φορεῖον ἀποθνήσκει. κόλασις δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἁμαρτημάτων πληγαὶ ταῖς παρθένοις, τοῦ μεγίστου Ποντίφικος κολάζοντος ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ γυμνὴν τὴν πλημμελήσασαν, ὀθόνης ἐν παλινσκίῳ παρατεινομένης· ἡ δὲ τὴν παρθενίαν καταισχύνασα ζῶσα κατορύττεται παρὰ τὴν Κολλίνην λεγομένην πύλην· ἐν ᾗ τις ἔστιν ἐντὸς
5 τῆς πόλεως ὀφρὺς γεώδης παρατείνουσα πόρρω· καλεῖται δὲ χῶμα διαλέκτῳ τῇ Λατίνων. ἐνταῦθα κατασκευάζεται κατάγειος οἶκος οὐ μέγας, ἔχων ἄνωθεν κατάβασιν. κεῖται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνη τε ὑπεστρωμένη καὶ λύχνος καιόμενος, ἀπαρχαί τε τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων βραχεῖαί τινες, οἷον
6 ἄρτος, ὕδωρ ἐν ἀγγείῳ, γάλα, ἔλαιον, ὥσπερ ἀφοσιουμένων τὸ μὴ λιμῷ διαφθείρειν σῶμα ταῖς μεγίσταις καθιερωμένον ἁγιστείαις. αὐτὴν δὲ

wishes has liberty to marry and adopt a different mode of life, after laying down her sacred office. We are told, however, that few have welcomed the indulgence, and that those who did so were not happy, but were a prey to repentance and dejection for the rest of their lives, thereby inspiring the rest with superstitious fears, so that until old age and death they remained steadfast in their virginity.

But Numa bestowed great privileges upon them, such as the right to make a will during the life time of their fathers, and to transact and manage their other affairs without a guardian, like the mothers of three children. When they appear in public, the fasces are carried before them, and if they accidentally meet a criminal on his way to execution, his life is spared; but the virgin must make oath that the meeting was involuntary and fortuitous, and not of design. He who passes under the litter on which they are borne, is put to death. For their minor offences the virgins are punished with stripes, the Pontifex Maximus sometimes scourging the culprit on her bare flesh, in a dark place, with a curtain interposed. But she that has broken her vow of chastity is buried alive near the Colline gate. Here a little ridge of earth extends for some distance along the inside of the city-wall; the Latin word for it is "agger." Under it a small chamber is constructed, with steps leading down from above. In this are placed a couch with its coverings, a lighted lamp, and very small portions of the necessaries of life, such as bread, a bowl of water, milk, and oil, as though they would thereby absolve themselves from the charge of destroying by hunger a life which had been consecrated to the highest services of religion.

τὴν κολαζομένην εἰς φορεῖον ἐνθέμενοι καὶ καταστεγάσαντες ἔξωθεν καὶ καταλαβόντες ἱμᾶσιν, ὡς μηδὲ φωνὴν ἐξάκουστον γενέσθαι, κομίζουσι δι' ἀγορᾶς. ἐξίστανται δὲ πάντες σιωπῇ καὶ παραπέμπουσιν ἄφθογγοι μετά τινος δεινῆς κατηφείας· οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἕτερον θέαμα φρικτότερον, οὐδ' ἡμέραν
7 ἡ πόλις ἄλλην ἄγει στυγνοτέραν ἐκείνης. ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὸν τόπον κομισθῇ τὸ φορεῖον, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἐξέλυσαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων ἔξαρχος εὐχάς τινας ἀπορρήτους ποιησάμενος καὶ χεῖρας ἀνατείνας θεοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἐξάγει συγκεκαλυμμένην καὶ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ κλίμακος εἰς τὸ οἴκημα κάτω φερούσης. εἶτα αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποτρέπεται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων· τῆς δὲ καταβάσης ἥ τε κλίμαξ ἀναιρεῖται καὶ κατακρύπτεται τὸ οἴκημα γῆς πολλῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιφορουμένης, ὥστε ἰσόπεδον τῷ λοιπῷ χώματι γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον. οὕτω μὲν αἱ προέμεναι τὴν ἱερὰν παρθενίαν κολάζονται.

XI. Νομᾶς δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν ἐγκύκλιον περιβαλέσθαι τῷ ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ φρουράν, ἀπομιμούμενος οὐ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς ὡς Ἑστίας οὔσης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, οὗ μέσον οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τὸ πῦρ ἱδρῦσθαι νομίζουσι,
2 καὶ τοῦτο Ἑστίαν καλοῦσι καὶ μονάδα· τὴν δὲ γῆν οὔτε ἀκίνητον οὔτε ἐν μέσῳ τῆς περιφορᾶς οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ πῦρ αἰωρουμένην οὐ τῶν τιμιωτάτων οὐδὲ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ κόσμου μορίων ὑπάρχειν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνά φασι πρεσβύτην γενόμενον διανενοῆσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς

Then the culprit herself is placed on a litter, over which coverings are thrown and fastened down with cords so that not even a cry can be heard from within, and carried through the forum. All the people there silently make way for the litter, and follow it without uttering a sound, in a terrible depression of soul. No other spectacle is more appalling, nor does any other day bring more gloom to the city than this. When the litter reaches its destination, the attendants unfasten the cords of the coverings. Then the high-priest, after stretching his hands toward heaven and uttering certain mysterious prayers before the fatal act, brings forth the culprit, who is closely veiled, and places her on the steps leading down into the chamber. After this he turns away his face, as do the rest of the priests, and when she has gone down, the steps are taken up, and great quantities of earth are thrown into the entrance to the chamber, hiding it away, and making the place level with the rest of the mound. Such is the punishment of those who break their vow of virginity.

XI. Furthermore, it is said that Numa built the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire was kept, of a circular form, not in imitation of the shape of the earth, believing Vesta to be the earth, but of the entire universe, at the centre of which the Pythagoreans place the element of fire, and call it Vesta and Unit. And they hold that the earth is neither motionless nor situated in the centre of surrounding space, but that it revolves in a circle about the central fire, not being one of the most important, nor even one of the primary elements of the universe. This is the conception, we are told, which Plato also, in his old age, had of the earth, namely that it is

ὡς ἐν ἑτέρᾳ χώρᾳ καθεστώσης, τὴν δὲ μέσην καὶ κυριωτάτην ἑτέρῳ τινὶ κρείττονι προσήκουσαν.

XII. Οἱ δὲ Ποντίφικες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πάτρια τοῖς χρῄζουσιν ἀφηγοῦνται, Νομᾶ διδάξαντος μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι μίασμα τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ θεοὺς σέβεσθαι τοῖς νενομισμένοις, ὡς τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑποδεχομένους· ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὴν προσαγορευομένην Λιβίτιναν, ἐπίσκοπον τῶν περὶ τοὺς θνήσκοντας ὁσίων θεὸν οὖσαν, εἴτε Περσεφόνην εἴτε μᾶλλον, ὡς οἱ λογιώτατοι Ῥωμαίων ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, Ἀφροδίτην, οὐ κακῶς εἰς μιᾶς δύναμιν θεοῦ τὰ περὶ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τὰς τελευτὰς ἀνάπτοντες.

2 αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ πένθη καθ' ἡλικίας καὶ χρόνους ἔταξεν· οἷον παῖδα μὴ πενθεῖν νεώτερον τριετοῦς, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερον πλείονας μῆνας ὧν ἐβίωσεν ἐνιαυτῶν μέχρι τῶν δέκα, καὶ περαιτέρω μηδεμίαν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μακροτάτου πένθους χρόνον εἶναι δεκαμηνιαῖον, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ χηρεύουσιν αἱ τῶν ἀποθανόντων γυναῖκες. ἡ δὲ πρότερον γαμηθεῖσα βοῦν ἐγκύμονα κατέθυεν ἐκείνου νομοθετήσαντος.

3 Πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας Νομᾶ καταδείξαντος ἱερωσύνας ἔτι δυεῖν μνησθήσομαι, τῆς τε Σαλίων καὶ τῆς τῶν Φιτιαλέων, αἳ μάλιστα τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐμφαίνουσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ 68
Φιτιαλεῖς εἰρηνοφύλακές τινες ὄντες, ὡς δ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ τοὔνομα λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως,

established in a secondary space, and that the central and sovereign space is reserved for some other and nobler body.

XII. The Pontifices also explain and direct the ancestral rites of burial for those who desire it, and they were taught by Numa not to regard any such offices as a pollution, but to honour the gods below also with the customary rites, since they receive into their keeping the most sovereign part of us, and particularly the goddess called Libitina, who presides over the solemn services for the dead, whether she is Proserpina, or, as the most learned Romans maintain, Venus; thereby not inaptly connecting man's birth and death with the power of one and the same goddess. Numa himself also regulated the periods of mourning according to ages. For instance, over a child of less than three years there was to be no mourning at all; over one older than that, the mourning was not to last more months than it had lived years, up to ten; and no age was to be mourned longer than that, but ten months was the period set for the longest mourning.[1] This is also the period during which women who have lost their husbands remain in widowhood, and she who took another husband before this term was out, was obliged by the laws of Numa to sacrifice a cow with calf.

Numa also established many other orders of priesthood, of which I shall mention two, besides, those of the Salii and the Fetiales, which more than any others give evidence of the man's reverent piety. The Fetiales were guardians of peace, so to speak, and in my opinion took their name from their office, which was to put a stop to disputes by oral conference, or

[1] Cf. chapter xix. 1.

λόγῳ τὰ νείκη κατέπαυον, οὐκ ἐῶντες στρατεύειν πρότερον ἢ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα δίκης ἀποκοπῆναι. 4 καὶ γὰρ εἰρήνην Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν ὅταν λόγῳ, μὴ βίᾳ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους χρώμενοι λύσωσι τὰς διαφοράς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων Φιτιαλεῖς πολλάκις μὲν ἐβάδιζον ὡς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτοὶ πείθοντες εὐγνωμονεῖν· ἀγνωμονούντων δὲ μαρτυράμενοι θεούς, καὶ κατευξάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καθ' αὑτῶν αὐτοὶ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος εἰ μὴ δικαίως ἐπεξίασιν, οὕτω κατήγγελλον αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον. 5 κωλυόντων δὲ τούτων ἢ μὴ συναινούντων, οὔτε στρατιώτῃ θεμιτὸν οὔτε βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα κινεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τούτων ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου δεξάμενον ὡς δικαίου τὸν ἄρχοντα, τότε σκοπεῖν περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ Κελτικὸν ἐκεῖνο πάθος τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τούτων τῶν ἱερέων παρανομηθέντων.

6 Ἔτυχον μὲν γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι Κλουσίνους πολιορκοῦντες· ἐπέμφθη δὲ πρεσβευτὴς Φάβιος Ἀμβουστος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον διαλύσεις πράξων ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιορκουμένων. λαβὼν δὲ ἀποκρίσεις οὐκ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ πέρας σχεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν πρεσβείαν οἰόμενος, ἐνεανιεύσατο πρὸ τῶν Κλουσίνων ὅπλα λαβὼν προκαλέσασθαι τὸν ἀριστεύ- 7 οντα τῶν βαρβάρων. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς μάχης εὐτυχεῖτο καὶ καταβαλὼν ἐσκύλευσε τὸν ἄνδρα· γνωρίσαντες δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ πέμπουσιν εἰς Ῥώμην κήρυκα τοῦ Φαβίου κατηγοροῦντες ὡς ἐκσπόνδου καὶ ἀπίστου καὶ ἀκατάγγελτον ἐξενηνοχότος πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον. ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν σύγκλητον οἱ Φιτιαλεῖς ἔπειθον ἐκδιδόναι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς

parley[1]; and they would not suffer a hostile expedition to be made before every hope of getting justice had been cut off. For the Greeks call it peace when two parties settle their quarrels by mutual conference, and not by violence. And the Roman Fetiales often went to those who were doing them a wrong and made personal appeals for fair treatment; but if the unfair treatment continued, they called the gods to witness, invoked many dreadful evils upon themselves and their country in case they resorted to hostilities unjustly, and so declared war upon them. But if they forbade it or withheld their consent, neither soldier nor king of Rome could lawfully take up arms. War had to begin with their verdict that it was just, and the ruler, on receiving this verdict, must then deliberate on the proper way to wage it. And it is said that the dreadful disaster which the city experienced at the hands of the Gauls was in consequence of the illegal treatment of these priests.

For when the Barbarians were besieging Clusium, Fabius Ambustus was sent from Rome to their camp to bring about a cessation of hostilities on behalf of the besieged. But on receiving an unseemly answer, he thought his office of ambassador was at an end, and committed the youthful folly of taking up arms for the Clusians and challenging the bravest of the Barbarians to single combat. Fabius fought successfully, unhorsed his adversary, and stripped him of his armour. But when the Gauls discovered who he was, they sent a herald to Rome denouncing Fabius for violating a truce, breaking his oath, and fighting against them before war was formally declared. At Rome the Fetiales tried to persuade the senate to

[1] Connecting the name with fateri, fari, *to speak*.

Κελτοῖς, καταφυγὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ σπουδάζοντι χρησάμενος διεκρούσατο τὴν δίκην. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἐπελθόντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πλὴν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου διεπόρθησαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Καμίλλου μᾶλλον ἀκριβοῦται.

XIII. Τοὺς δὲ Σαλίους ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοιαύτης λέγεται συστήσασθαι προφάσεως. ἔτος ὄγδοον αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος λοιμώδης νόσος περιῖοῦσα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐστρόβησε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἀθυμούντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱστορεῖται χαλκῆν πέλτην ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφερομένην εἰς τὰς Νομᾶ πεσεῖν χεῖρας. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ θαυμάσιόν τινα λόγον λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃν Ἠγερίας
2 τε καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν πυθέσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅπλον ἥκειν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ φρουρεῖσθαι γενομένων ἄλλων ἕνδεκα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος καὶ μορφὴν ἐκείνῳ παραπλησίων, ὅπως ἄπορον εἴη τῷ κλέπτῃ δι' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ διοπετοῦς ἐπιτυχεῖν· ἔτι δὲ χρῆναι Μούσαις καθιερῶσαι τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνας, ὅπου τὰ πολλὰ φοιτῶσαι συνδιατρίβουσιν αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν ἢ κατάρδει τὸ χωρίον, ὕδωρ ἱερὸν ἀποδεῖξαι ταῖς Ἑστιάσι παρθένοις, ὅπως λαμβάνουσαι καθ' ἡμέραν ἁγνίζωσι
3 καὶ ῥαίνωσι τὸ ἀνάκτορον. τούτοις μὲν οὖν μαρτυρῆσαι λέγουσι καὶ τὰ τῆς νόσου παραχρῆμα παυσάμενα. τὴν δὲ πέλτην προθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κελεύσαντος ἁμιλλᾶσθαι τοὺς τεχνίτας ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμοιότητος, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπειπεῖν, Οὐετούριον δὲ Μαμούριον ἕνα τῶν ἄκρων δημιουργῶν οὕτως ἐφικέσθαι τῆς ἐμφερείας, καὶ

deliver Fabius into the hands of the Gauls, but he took refuge with the multitude, and through the favour of the populace evaded his punishment. After a little, therefore, the Gauls came up and sacked Rome, with the exception of the Capitol. But this story is more fully given in my Life of Camillus.[1]

XIII. The priesthood of the Salii Numa is said to have been established for the following reason. In the eighth year of his reign a pestilence, which traversed Italy, distracted Rome also. The story goes that while the people were disheartened by this, a bronze buckler fell from heaven, which came into the hands of Numa, and a wonderful account of it was given by the king, which he learned from Egeria and the Muses. The buckler came, he said, for the salvation of the city, and must be carefully preserved by making eleven others of like fashion, size, and shape, in order that the resemblance between them might make it difficult for a thief to distinguish the one that fell from heaven. He said further that the spot where it fell, and the adjacent meadows, where the Muses usually had converse with him, must be consecrated to them; and that the spring which watered the spot should be declared holy water for the use of the Vestal virgins, who should daily sprinkle and purify their temple with it. Moreover, they say that the truth of all this was attested by the immediate cessation of the pestilence. When Numa showed the buckler to the artificers and bade them do their best to make others like it, they all declined, except Veturius Mamurius, a most excellent workman, who was so happy in his imitation of it, and made all the eleven so exactly

[1] Chapters xvii.–xxii.

κατασκευάσαι πάσας ὁμοίας, ὥστε μηδ' αὐτὸν ἔτι τὸν Νομᾶν διαγινώσκειν. τούτων οὖν φύλακας καὶ ἀμφιπόλους ἀπέδειξε τοὺς Σαλίους
4 ἱερεῖς. Σάλιοι δὲ ἐκλήθησαν, οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοι μυθολογοῦσι, Σαμόθρᾳκος ἀνδρὸς ἢ Μαντινέως, ὄνομα Σαλίου, πρώτου τὴν ἐνόπλιον ἐκδιδάξαντος ὄρχησιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως αὐτῆς, ἁλτικῆς οὔσης, ἣν ὑπορχοῦνται διαπορευόμενοι τὴν πόλιν, ὅταν τὰς ἱερὰς πέλτας ἀναλάβωσιν ἐν τῷ Μαρτίῳ μηνί, φοινικοῦς μὲν ἐνδεδυμένοι χιτωνίσκους, μίτραις δὲ χαλκαῖς ἐπεζωσμένοι 69
πλατείαις καὶ κράνη χαλκᾶ φοροῦντες, ἐγχειρι-
5 δίοις δὲ μικροῖς τὰ ὅπλα κρούοντες. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη τῆς ὀρχήσεως ποδῶν ἔργον ἐστί· κινοῦνται γὰρ ἐπιτερπῶς, ἑλιγμούς τινας καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐν ῥυθμῷ τάχος ἔχοντι καὶ πυκνότητα μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κουφότητος ἀποδιδόντες.

Αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς πέλτας ἀγκύλια καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα· κύκλος γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἀποδίδωσιν, ὡς πέλτη, τὴν περιφέρειαν, ἀλλ' ἐκτομὴν ἔχει γραμμῆς ἑλικοειδοῦς, ἧς αἱ κεραῖαι καμπὰς ἔχουσαι καὶ συνεπιστρέφουσαι τῇ πυκνότητι πρὸς
6 ἀλλήλας ἀγκύλον τὸ σχῆμα ποιοῦσιν· ἢ διὰ τὸν ἀγκῶνα περὶ ὃν περιφέρονται. ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Ἰόβας εἴρηκε γλιχόμενος ἐξελληνίσαι τοὔνομα. δύναιτο δ' ἂν τῆς ἀνέκαθεν φορᾶς πρῶτον ἐπώνυμον γεγονέναι, καὶ τῆς ἀκέσεως τῶν νοσούντων, καὶ τῆς τῶν αὐχμῶν λύσεως, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τῶν δεινῶν ἀνασχέσεως, καθ' ὃ καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους

like it, that not even Numa himself could distinguish them. For the watch and care of these bucklers, then, he appointed the priesthood of the Salii. Now the Salii were so named, not, as some tell the tale, from a man of Samothrace or Mantinea, named Salius, who first taught the dance in armour; but rather from the *leaping*[1] which characterized the dance itself. This dance they perform when they carry the sacred bucklers through the streets of the city in the month of March, clad in purple tunics, girt with broad belts of bronze, wearing bronze helmets on their heads, and carrying small daggers with which they strike the shields. But the dance is chiefly a matter of step; for they move gracefully, and execute with vigour and agility certain shifting convolutions, in quick and oft-recurring rhythm.

The bucklers themselves are called "ancilia," from their shape; for this is not round, nor yet completely oval, like that of the regular shield, but has a curving indentation, the arms of which are bent back and united with each other at top and bottom; this makes the shape "ancylon," the Greek for *curved*. Or, they are named from the *elbow* on which they are carried, which, in Greek, is "ankon." This is what Juba says, who is bent on deriving the name from the Greek But the name may come from the Greek "anekathen," inasmuch as the original shield fell *from on high;* or from "akesis," because it *healed* those who were sick of the plague; or from "auchmon lysis," because it *put an end to the drought;* or, further, from "anaschesis," because it brought a *cessation* of calamities, just as Castor and Pollux were called Anakes by the Athenians; if,

[1] The Latin "salire," *to leap.*

Ἄνακας Ἀθηναῖοι προσηγόρευσαν, εἴ γε δεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ἐξάγειν τοὔνομα.

7 Τῷ δὲ Μαμουρίῳ λέγουσι μισθὸν γενέσθαι τῆς τέχνης ἐκείνης μνήμην τινὰ δι' ᾠδῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Σαλίων ἅμα τῇ πυρρίχῃ διαπεραινομένης. οἱ δὲ οὐ Οὐετούριον Μαμούριον εἶναί φασι τὸν ᾀδόμενον, ἀλλὰ οὐετέρεμ μεμορίαμ, ὅπερ ἐστί, παλαιὰν μνήμην.

XIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διεκόσμησε τὰς ἱερωσύνας, ἐδείματο πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ τὴν καλουμένην Ῥηγίαν, οἷόν τι βασίλειον οἴκημα· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτόθι τοῦ χρόνου διέτριβεν ἱερουργῶν ἢ διδάσκων τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἢ πρὸς ἐννοίᾳ τινὶ τῶν θείων πρὸς αὑτὸν σχολάζων. οἰκίαν δ' εἶχεν ἑτέραν ἐγγὺς περὶ τὸν Κυρίνου λόφον, ἧς ἔτι νῦν τὸν τόπον ἐπιδεικνύουσιν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προπομπαῖς καὶ ὅλως τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς πομπαῖς προηγοῦντο κήρυκες ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐλινύειν κελεύοντες καὶ
2 τὰ ἔργα καταπαύοντες. ὡς γάρ φασι τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς οὐκ ἐᾶν ἐκ παρόδου προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλ' οἴκοθεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο γνώμῃ παρεσκευασμένους βαδίζειν, οὕτως ᾤετο Νομᾶς χρῆναι τοὺς πολίτας μήτε ἀκούειν τι τῶν θείων μήτε ὁρᾶν ἐν παρέργῳ καν ἀμελῶς, ἀλλὰ σχολὴν ἄγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλωι καὶ προσέχοντας τὴν διάνοιαν ὡς πράξει μεγίστῃ τῇ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ψόφων τε καὶ πατάγων καὶ στεναγμῶν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καὶ βαθυσόοις πόνοις ἕπεται, καθαρὰς τὰς ὁδοὺς ταῖς ἱερουργίαις παρέχοντας. ὧν ἴχνος τι μέχρι

that is, we are bound to derive the name from the Greek.

We are told that Mamertius was rewarded for his wonderful art by having his name mentioned in a song which the Salii sing as they perform their war-dance. Some, however, say that the song does not commemorate Veturius Mamurius, but "veterem memoriam," that is to say, *ancient remembrance.*

XIV. After Numa had thus established and regulated the priestly orders, he built, near the temple of Vesta, the so-called Regia, or *royal house.* Here he passed most of his time, performing sacred functions, or teaching the priests, or engaged in the quiet contemplation of divine things. He also had another house on the Quirinal hill, the site of which is still pointed out. At all public and solemn processions of the priests, heralds were sent on before through the city, bidding the people make holiday, and putting a stop to all labour. For, just as it is said that the Pythagoreans do not allow men to worship and pray to their gods cursorily and by the way, but would have them go from their homes directly to this office, with their minds prepared for it, so Numa thought that his citizens ought neither to hear nor see any divine service while they were occupied with other matters and therefore unable to pay attention. They should rather be free from all distractions and devote their thoughts to the religious ceremony as a matter of the highest importance. They should also rid their streets of noise and clatter and clamour, and all such accompaniments of menial and manual labour, and clear them for the sacred ceremonies. And the Romans still preserve some traces of this earlier feeling.

νῦν διασώζοντες, ὅταν ἄρχων πρὸς ὄρνισιν ἢ θυσίαις διατρίβῃ, βοῶσιν "Ὅκ ἄγε·" σημαίνει δὲ ἡ φωνὴ "Τοῦτο πρᾶσσε," συνεπιστρέφουσα καὶ κατακοσμοῦσα τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας.

3 Ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραγγελμάτων αὐτοῦ πολλὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἐοικότα. ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παρῄνουν ἐπὶ χοίνικος μὴ καθῆσθαι, καὶ μαχαίρᾳ πῦρ μὴ σκαλεύειν, καὶ βαδίζοντας εἰς ἀποδημίας μὴ μεταστρέφεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐρανίοις περισσὰ θύειν, ἄρτια δὲ τοῖς χθονίοις, ὧν ἑκάστου τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεκρύπτοντο πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς, οὕτως ἔνια τῶν Νομᾶ πατρίων ἀπόρρητον ἔχει τὸν λόγον· οἷον τὸ μὴ σπένδειν θεοῖς ἐξ ἀμπέλων ἀτμήτων μηδὲ θύειν ἄτερ ἀλφίτων· καὶ τὸ προσκυνεῖν περιστρεφομένους

4 καὶ τὸ καθῆσθαι προσκυνήσαντας. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα δύο τὴν γῆς ἐξημέρωσιν ἔοικε διδάσκειν, ὡς μόριον εὐσεβείας οὖσαν· ἡ δὲ περιστροφὴ τῶν προσκυνούντων λέγεται μὲν ἀπομίμησις εἶναι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου περιφορᾶς, δόξειε δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ὁ προσκυνῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἕω τῶν ἱερῶν βλεπόντων ἀπέστραπται τὰς ἀνατολάς, μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ περιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, κύκλον ποιῶν καὶ συνάπτων τὴν ἐπιτελείωσιν τῆς εὐχῆς

5 δι' ἀμφοῖν· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τροχοῖς αἰνίττεταί τι καὶ διδάσκει παραπλήσιον ἡ μετα- 7
βολὴ τοῦ σχήματος, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἑστῶτος τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν στρέφῃ καὶ ἀνελίττῃ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, ἀγαπᾶν καὶ δέχεσθαι προσῆκον. τὸ δὲ καθέζεσθαι προσκυνήσαντας οἰωνισμὸν εἶναι λέγουσι τοῦ βεβαιότητα ταῖς

When a magistrate is busy taking auspices or sacrificing, the people cry "Hoc age," which means "*Mind this,*" and helps to make the bystanders attentive and orderly.

Many of his other precepts also resembled those of the Pythagoreans. For instance, the Pythagoreans said: "Don't use a quart-measure as a seat"; "Don't poke the fire with a sword"; "When you set out for foreign parts, don't turn back"; and "To the celestial gods sacrifice an even number, but an odd number to the terrestrial"; and the meaning of all these precepts they would keep hidden from the vulgar. So in some of Numa's rules the meaning is hidden; as, for instance, "Don't offer to the gods wine from unpruned vines"; "Don't make a sacrifice without meal"; "Turn round as you worship"; and "Sit down after worship." The first two rules would seem to teach that the subjection of the earth is a part of religion; and the worshippers' turning round is said to be an imitation of the rotary motion of the universe; but I would rather think that the worshipper who enters a temple, since temples face the east and the Sun, has his back towards the sunrise, and therefore turns himself half round in that direction, and then wheels fully round to face the god of the temple, thus making a complete circle, and linking the fulfilment of his prayer with both deities; unless, indeed, this change of posture, like the Aegyptian wheels, darkly hints and teaches that there is no stability in human affairs, but that we must accept contentedly whatever twists and turns our lives may receive from the Deity. And as for the sitting down after worship, we are told that it is an augury of the

εὐχαῖς καὶ διαμονὴν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιγίνεσθαι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πράξεων διορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν
6 ἀνάπαυσιν· ὡς οὖν τῇ προτέρᾳ πράξει πέρας ἐπιτιθέντας καθέζεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, ἵνα ἑτέρας πάλιν ἀρχὴν παρ' ἐκείνων λάβωσι. δύναται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖν, ἐθίζοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ νομοθέτου μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐντεύξεις ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ καὶ παρέργως οἷον σπεύδοντας, ἀλλ' ὅταν χρόνον ἔχωμεν καὶ σχολὴν ἄγωμεν.

XV. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης παιδαγωγίας πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἐγεγόνει χειροήθης καὶ κατατεθαμβημένη τὴν τοῦ Νομᾶ δύναμιν, ὥστε μύθοις ἐοικότας τὴν ἀτοπίαν λόγους παραδέχεσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν μηδὲν ἄπιστον εἶναι μηδὲ
2 ἀμήχανον ἐκείνου βουληθέντος. λέγεται γοῦν ποτε καλέσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν πολιτῶν, σκεύη τε φαῦλα καὶ δεῖπνον εὐτελὲς πάνυ προθέσθαι καὶ δημοτικόν· ἀρξαμένων δὲ δειπνεῖν ἐμβαλὼν λόγον ὡς ἡ θεὸς ᾗ σύνεστιν ἥκοι πρὸς αὐτόν, αἰφνίδιον ἐπιδεῖξαι τόν τε οἶκον ἐκπωμάτων πλήρη πολυτελῶν καὶ τὰς τραπέζας ὄψων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς δαψιλοῦς
3 γεμούσας. πᾶσαν δὲ ὑπερβέβληκεν ἀτοπίαν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ὁμιλίας ἱστορούμενον. μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ εἰς τὸν Ἀβεντῖνον λόφον οὔπω μέρος ὄντα τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ συνοικούμενον, ἀλλ' ἔχοντα πηγάς τε δαψιλεῖς ἐν αὑτῷ καὶ νάπας σκιεράς, φοιτᾶν δύο δαίμονας, Πῖκον καὶ Φαῦνον· οὓς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Σατύρων ἄν τις ἢ Πανῶν γένει προσεικάσειε, δυνάμει δὲ φαρμάκων καὶ δεινότητι τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα γοητείας λέγονται ταὐτὰ τοῖς

acceptance of the worshipper's prayers and the duration of his blessings. We are also told, that, as different acts are separated by an interval of rest, so the worshipper, having completed one act, sits down in the presence of the gods, in order that he may begin another with their blessing. But this, too, can be brought into agreement with what was said above : the lawgiver is trying to accustom us not to make our petitions to the Deity when we are busied with other matters and in a hurry, as it were, but when we have time and are at leisure.

XV. By such training and schooling in religious matters the city became so tractable, and stood in such awe of Numa's power, that they accepted his stories, though fabulously strange, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he wished them to believe or do. At any rate, the story goes that he once invited a large number of the citizens to his table, and set before them mean dishes and a very simple repast ; but just as they began to eat, he surprised them by saying that the goddess with whom he consorted was come to visit him, and lo, on a sudden, the room was full of costly beakers and the tables were laden with all sorts of meats and abundant furniture. But nothing can be so strange as what is told about his conversation with Jupiter. When the Aventine hill—so runs the tale—was not yet a part of the city nor even inhabited, but abounded in springs and shady dells, two demi-gods, Picus and Faunus, made it their haunt. In other ways these divinities might be likened to Satyrs or Pans, but they are said to have used powerful drugs and practised clever incantations, and to have traversed

ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων προσαγορευθεῖσιν Ἰδαίοις Δακτύ-
4 λοις σοφιζόμενοι περιιέναι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τούτους φασὶ χειρώσασθαι τὸν Νομᾶν, οἴνῳ καὶ μέλιτι κεράσαντα τὴν κρήνην ἀφ' ἧς ἔπινον συνήθως. ληφθέντας δὲ πολλὰς μὲν ἰδέας τρέπεσθαι καὶ μετεκδύεσθαι τὴν αὑτῶν φύσιν, ἀλλόκοτα φάσματα καὶ φοβερὰ τῆς ὄψεως προβαλλομένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνωσαν ἑαλωκότες ἰσχυρὰν καὶ ἄφυκτον ἅλωσιν, ἄλλα τε προθεσπίσαι πολλὰ τῶν μελλόντων καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κεραυνοῖς ἐκδιδάξαι καθαρμόν, ὃς ποιεῖται μέχρι νῦν διὰ κρομμύων
5 καὶ τριχῶν καὶ μαινίδων. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐ τοὺς δαίμονάς φασιν ὑποθέσθαι τὸν καθαρμόν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν καταγαγεῖν τὸν Δία μαγεύσαντας, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ὀργιζόμενον τῷ Νομᾷ προστάσσειν ὡς χρὴ γενέσθαι τὸν καθαρμὸν κεφαλαῖς· ὑπολαβόντος δὲ τοῦ Νομᾶ, "κρομμύων," εἰπεῖν, "ἀνθρώπων·" τὸν δὲ αὖθις ἐκτρέποντα τὸ τοῦ προστάγματος δεινὸν ἐπερέσθαι, "θριξίν;" ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Διός, "ἐμψύχοις," ἐπαγαγεῖν τὸν Νομᾶν, "μαινίσι;" ταῦτα λέγειν ὑπὸ τῆς
6 Ἠγερίας δεδιδαγμένον. καὶ τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἵλεω γενόμενον, τὸν δὲ τόπον Ἰλίκιον ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι καὶ τὸν καθαρμὸν οὕτω συντελεῖσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ μυθώδη καὶ γελοῖα τὴν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδείκνυται διάθεσιν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἣν ὁ ἐθισμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐνεποίησεν. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Νομᾶν οὕτω φασὶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀνηρτῆσθαι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὥστε καὶ προσαγγελίας αὐτῷ ποτε γενομένης ὡς ἐπέρχονται πολέμιοι, μειδιᾶσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· "Ἐγὼ δὲ θύω."

Italy playing the same tricks as the so-called Idaean Dactyli[1] of the Greeks. These demi-gods Numa is said to have caught, by mixing wine and honey with the water of the spring from which they were wont to drink. When captured, they dropped their own forms and assumed many different shapes, presenting hideous and dreadful appearances. But when they perceived that they were fast caught and could not escape, they foretold to Numa many things that would come to pass, and taught him besides the charm against thunder and lightning, which is still practised with onions, hair, and sprats. Some, however, say that it was not the imps themselves who imparted the charm, but that they called Jupiter down from heaven by their magic, and that this deity angrily told Numa that he must charm thunder and lightning with "heads." "Of onions?" asked Numa, filling out the phrase. "Of men," said Jupiter. Thereupon Numa, trying once more to avert the horror of the prescription, asked, "with hair?" "Nay," answered Jupiter, "with living—" "sprats?" added Numa, as he had been taught by Egeria to say. Then the god returned to heaven in a *gracious* mood,—"hileos," as the Greeks say,—and the place was called Ilicium from this circumstance; and that is the way the charm was perfected. These stories, fabulous and ridiculous as they are, show us the attitude which the men of that time, from force of custom, took towards the gods. And Numa himself, as they say, had such implicit confidence in the gods, that once, when a message was brought to him that enemies were coming up against the city, he smiled and said: "But I am sacrificing."

[1] Fabulous gnomes associated with the Mount Ida of Phrygia and Crete.

XVI. Πρῶτον δέ φασι καὶ Πίστεως καὶ Τέρμονος ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι. καὶ τὴν μὲν Πίστιν ὅρκον ἀποδεῖξαι Ῥωμαίοις μέγιστον, ᾧ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν διατελοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ Τέρμων ὅρος ἄν τις εἴη, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν περιορισμούς, νῦν μὲν ἔμψυχα, τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ ἀναίμακτος ἦν ἡ θυσία, Νομᾶ 71
φιλοσοφήσαντος ὡς χρὴ τὸν ὅριον θεὸν εἰρήνης
φύλακα καὶ δικαιοσύνης μάρτυν ὄντα φόνου
2 καθαρὸν εἶναι. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὅλως οὗτος ὁρίσαι
τὴν χώραν ὁ βασιλεύς, Ῥωμύλου μὴ βουλη-
θέντος ἐξομολογήσασθαι τῷ μέτρῳ τοῦ οἰκείου
τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου· δεσμὸν γὰρ εἶναι
τῆς δυνάμεως τὸν ὅρον, ἂν φυλάττηται, μὴ
φυλαττόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀδικίας ἔλεγχον. οὐ μὴν
οὐδὲ ἦν δαψιλὴς χώρα τῇ πόλει κατ' ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ
3 τὴν πολλὴν αἰχμῇ προσεκτήσατο Ῥωμύλος· καὶ
ταύτην πᾶσαν ὁ Νομᾶς διένειμε τοῖς ἀπόροις
τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς ἀνάγκην τῆς ἀδικίας ἀφαιρῶν
τὴν ἀπορίαν, καὶ τρέπων ἐπὶ γεωργίαν τὸν δῆμον
ἅμα τῇ χώρᾳ συνεξημερούμενον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο
τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὕτως ἔρωτα δριμὺν εἰρήνης
ἐργάζεται καὶ ταχὺν ὡς ὁ ἀπὸ γῆς βίος, ἐν ᾧ
καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς εὐτολμίας τὸ μὲν ὑπερμαχη-
τικὸν τοῦ οἰκείου διαμένει καὶ πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ εἰς
ἀδικίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἀνειμένον ἐκκέκοπται.
4 διὸ καὶ τὴν γεωργίαν ὁ Νομᾶς οἷον εἰρήνης
φίλτρον ἐμμίξας τοῖς πολίταις καὶ μᾶλλον ὡς
ἠθοποιὸν ἢ πλουτοποιὸν ἀγαπήσας τέχνην, εἰς
μέρη τὴν χώραν διεῖλεν, ἃ πάγους προσηγόρευσε,
καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπισκόπους ἔταξε καὶ περι-

XVI. He was also the first, they say, to build temples to Faith and Terminus; and he taught the Romans their most solemn oath by Faith, which they still continue to use. Terminus signifies *boundary*, and to this god they make public and private sacrifices where their fields are set off by boundaries; of living victims nowadays, but anciently the sacrifice was a bloodless one, since Numa reasoned that the god of boundaries was a guardian of peace and a witness of just dealing, and should therefore be clear from slaughter. And it is quite apparent that it was this king who set bounds to the territory of the city, for Romulus was unwilling to acknowledge, by measuring off his own, how much he had taken away from others. He knew that a boundary, if observed, fetters lawless power; and if not observed, convicts of injustice. And indeed the city's territory was not extensive at first, but Romulus acquired most of it later with the spear. All this was distributed by Numa among the indigent citizens. He wished to remove the destitution which drives men to wrongdoing, and to turn the people to agriculture, that they might be subdued and softened along with the soil they tilled. For there is no other occupation which produces so keen and quick a relish for peace as that of a farmer's life, where so much of the warrior's daring as prompts a man to fight for his own, is always preserved, while the warrior's licence to indulge in rapacity and injustice is extirpated. Numa, therefore, administering agriculture to his citizens as a sort of peace-potion, and well pleased with the art as fostering character rather than wealth, divided the city's territory into districts, to which he gave the name of "pagi," and in each of them he set

πόλους. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφορῶν καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς τρόπους τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς μὲν εἰς τιμὰς καὶ πίστεις ἀνῆγε, τοὺς δὲ ῥᾳθύμους καὶ ἀμελεῖς ψέγων καὶ κακίζων ἐσωφρόνιζε.

XVII. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αὐτοῦ πολιτευμάτων ἡ κατὰ τέχνας διανομὴ τοῦ πλήθους μάλιστα θαυμάζεται. τῆς γὰρ πόλεως ἐκ δυεῖν γενῶν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, συνεστάναι δοκούσης, διεστώσης δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ μηδενὶ τρόπῳ μιᾶς γενέσθαι βουλομένης μηδὲ οἷον ἐξαλεῖψαι τὴν ἑτερότητα καὶ διαφοράν, ἀλλὰ συγκρούσεις ἀπαύστους καὶ φιλονεικίας τῶν μερῶν ἐχούσης, διανοηθεὶς ὅτι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ φύσει δύσμικτα καὶ σκληρὰ καταθραύοντες καὶ διαιροῦντες ἀναμιγνύουσιν, ὑπὸ μικρότητος ἀλλήλοις συμβαίνοντα μᾶλλον,
2 ἔγνω κατατεμεῖν τομὰς πλείονας τὸ σύμπαν πλῆθος· ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς ἑτέρας ἐμβαλὼν διαφορὰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκείνην καὶ μεγάλην ἀφανίσαι ταῖς ἐλάττοσιν ἐνδιασπαρεῖσαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ διανομὴ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας, αὐλητῶν, χρυσοχόων, τεκτόνων, βαφέων, σκυτοτόμων, σκυτοδεψῶν, χαλκέων, κεραμέων. τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τέχνας εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγαγὼν ἓν αὐτῶν ἐκ πασῶν ἀπέδειξε σύστημα.
3 κοινωνίας δὲ καὶ συνόδους καὶ θεῶν τιμὰς ἀποδοὺς ἑκάστῳ γένει πρεπούσας, τότε πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνεῖλε τὸ λέγεσθαι καὶ νομίζεσθαι τοὺς μὲν Σαβίνους, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τοὺς

overseers and patrols. But sometimes he would inspect them in person, and judging of the characters of the citizens from the condition of their farms, would advance some to positions of honour and trust; while others, who were indolent and careless, he would chide and reproach, and so try to make them sensible.

XVII. But of all his measures, the one most admired was his distribution of the people into groups according to their trades or arts. For the city was supposed to consist of two tribes, as has been said,[1] although it had no consistency, but was rather divided into two tribes, and utterly refused to become united, or to blot out its diversities and differences. On the contrary, it was filled with ceaseless collisions and contentions between its component parts. Numa, therefore, aware that hard substances which will not readily mingle may be crushed and pulverized, and then more easily mix and mingle with each other, owing to the smallness of their particles, determined to divide the entire body of the people into a greater number of divisions, and so, by merging it in other distinctions, to obliterate the original and great distinction, which would be lost among the lesser ones. He distributed them, accordingly, by arts and trades, into musicians, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, leather-workers, curriers, braziers, and potters. The remaining trades he grouped together, and made one body out of all who belonged to them. He also appointed social gatherings and public assemblies and rites of worship befitting each body. And thus, at last, he banished from the city the practice of speaking and thinking of some citizens as Sabines, and of others

[1] Chapter ii. 4 f.

μὲν Τατίου, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμύλου πολίτας, ὥστε τὴν διαίρεσιν εὐαρμοστίαν καὶ ἀνάμιξιν πάντων γενέσθαι πρὸς πάντας.

4 Ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν νόμον διόρθωμα τὸν διδόντα τοῖς πατράσι τοὺς παῖδας πιπράσκειν, ὑπεξελομένου τοὺς γεγαμηκότας, εἰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπαινοῦντος καὶ κελεύοντος ὁ γάμος γένοιτο. δεινὸν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο τὴν ὡς ἐλευθέρῳ γεγαμημένην γυναῖκα δούλῳ συνοικεῖν.

XVIII. Ἥψατο δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πραγματείας οὔτε ἀκριβῶς οὔτε παντάπασιν ἀθεωρήτως. Ῥωμύλου γὰρ βασιλεύοντος ἀλόγως ἐχρῶντο τοῖς μησὶ καὶ ἀτάκτως, τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν, τοὺς δὲ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, τοὺς δὲ πλειόνων λογιζόμενοι, τῆς δὲ γινομένης ἀνωμαλίας περὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἔννοιαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἓν φυλάττοντες μόνον, ὅπως ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἡμερῶν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς
2 ἔσται. Νομᾶς δὲ τὸ παράλλαγμα τῆς ἀνωμαλίας ἡμερῶν ἕνδεκα γίνεσθαι λογιζόμενος, ὡς τοῦ μὲν σεληνιακοῦ τριακοσίας πεντήκοντα τέσσαρας ἔχοντος ἡμέρας, τοῦ δὲ ἡλιακοῦ τριακοσίας ἑξήκοντα πέντε, τὰς ἕνδεκα ταύτας ἡμέρας διπλασιάζων ἐπήγαγε παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Φεβρουαρίῳ μηνὶ τὸν ἐμβόλιμον, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Μερκηδῖνον καλούμενον, εἴκοσι καὶ δυοῖν ἡμερῶν ὄντα. 72
3 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ τὸ ἴαμα τῆς ἀνωμαλίας μειζόνων ἔμελλεν ἰαμάτων δεήσεσθαι.

Μετεκίνησε δὲ καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν μηνῶν· τὸν γὰρ Μάρτιον πρῶτον ὄντα τρίτον ἔταξε, πρῶτον δὲ τὸν Ἰανουάριον, ὃς ἦν ἑνδέκατος ἐπὶ Ῥωμύλου,

as Romans; or of some as subjects of Tatius, and others of Romulus, so that his division resulted in a harmonious blending of them all together.

Praise is also given to that measure of his whereby the law permitting fathers to sell their sons was amended. He made an exception of married sons, provided they had married with the consent and approval of their fathers. For he thought it a hard thing that a woman who had married a man whom she thought free, should find herself living with a slave.

XVIII. He applied himself, also, to the adjustment of the calendar, not with exactness, and yet not altogether without careful observation. For during the reign of Romulus, they had been irrational and irregular in their fixing of the months, reckoning some at less than twenty days, some at thirty-five, and some at more; they had no idea of the inequality in the annual motions of the sun and moon, but held to this principle only, that the year should consist of three hundred and sixty days. But Numa, estimating the extent of the inequality at eleven days, since the lunar year had three hundred and fifty-four days, but the solar year three hundred and sixty-five, doubled these eleven days, and every other year inserted after the month of February the intercalary month called Mercedinus by the Romans, which consisted of twenty-two days. This correction of the inequality which he made was destined to require other and greater corrections in the future.

He also changed the order of the months. March, which had been first, he made the third month, and January, which had been the eleventh under Romulus,

δωδέκατος δὲ καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ Φεβρουάριος, ᾧ νῦν δευτέρῳ χρῶνται. πολλοὶ δέ εἰσιν οἳ καὶ προστεθῆναι τούτους ὑπὸ Νομᾶ τοὺς μῆνας λέγουσι, τόν τε Ἰανουάριον καὶ τὸν Φεβρουάριον,
4 ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ χρῆσθαι δέκα μόνον εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν βαρβάρων τρισί, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀρκάδες μὲν τέσσαρσιν, ἓξ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ μηνιαῖος ἦν ὁ ἐνιαυτός, εἶτα τετράμηνος, ὥς φασι. διὸ καὶ νεωτάτην χώραν οἰκοῦντες ἀρχαιότατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ πλῆθος ἀμήχανον ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς γενεαλογίαις καταφέρουσιν, ἅτε δὴ τοὺς μῆνας εἰς ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν τιθέμενοι.

XIX. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὅτι μὲν δέκα μῆνας εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἔταττον, οὐ δώδεκα, τεκμήριον ἡ τοῦ τελευταίου προσηγορία· δέκατον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄχρι νῦν καλοῦσιν· ὅτι δὲ τὸν Μάρτιον πρῶτον, ἡ τάξις· τὸν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐκείνου πέμπτον ἐκάλουν πέμπτον· ἕκτον δὲ τὸν ἕκτον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑξῆς ὁμοίως ἕκαστον, ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἰανουάριον καὶ τὸν Φεβρουάριον πρὸ τοῦ Μαρτίου τιθεμένοις συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς τὸν εἰρημένον μῆνα πέμπτον
2 μὲν ὀνομάζειν, ἕβδομον δὲ ἀριθμεῖν. ἄλλως δὲ καὶ λόγον εἶχε τὸν Μάρτιον Ἄρει καθιερωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πρῶτον ὀνομάζεσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ τὸν Ἀπρίλλιον, ἐπώνυμον ὄντα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἐν ᾧ θύουσί τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ ταῖς καλάνδαις αἱ γυναῖκες ἐστεφανωμέναι μυρσίνῃ λούονται. τινὲς δὲ οὐ διὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὸν Ἀπρίλλιόν

he made the first month ; February, which had been twelfth and last, thus became the second month, as now. But there are many who say that these months of January and February were added to the calendar by Numa, and that at the outset the Romans had only ten months in their year, as some Barbarians have three, and as, among the Greeks, the Arcadians have four, and the Acarnanians six ; the Aegyptian year had at first only a single month in it, afterwards four, as we are told. And therefore, though they inhabit a very recent country,[1] they have the credit of being a very ancient people, and load their genealogies with a prodigious number of years, since they really count their months as so many years.

XIX. That the Romans had at first only ten months in their year, and not twelve, is proved by the name of their last month ; for they still call it December, or the tenth month. And that March used to be their first month, is proved by the sequence of months after it ; for the fifth month after it used to be called Quintilis, the sixth Sextilis, and so on with the rest. Therefore, when they placed January and February before March, they were guilty of naming the above-mentioned month Quintilis, or fifth, but counting it seventh. And besides, it was reasonable that March, which is consecrate to Mars, should be put in the first place by Romulus, and April in the second place, since this month is named after Aphrodite. In it they sacrificed to this goddess, and on its first day the women bathe with myrtle garlands on their heads. Some, however, say that April, with its smooth "p," cannot

[1] Perhaps as formed by the deposits of the Nile (Herod. ii. 5 and 9).

φασιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἔχει τοὔνομα ψιλόν, Ἀπρίλλιον κεκλῆσθαι τὸν μῆνα τῆς ἐαρινῆς ὥρας ἀκμαζούσης ἀνοίγοντα καὶ ἀνακαλύπτοντα τοὺς βλαστοὺς τῶν φυτῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ γλῶττα σημαίνει.
3 τῶν δ' ἐφεξῆς τὸν μὲν Μάϊον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Μαίας· Ἑρμῇ γὰρ ἀνιέρωται· τὸν δὲ Ἰούνιον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἥρας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ τούτους ἡλικίας ἐπωνύμους εἶναι λέγοντες πρεσβυτέρας καὶ νεωτέρας· μαϊώρεις γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἰουνιώρεις δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι καλοῦνται. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, ὥσπερ ἀριθμοῦντες, ὠνόμαζον πέμπτον, ἕκτον, ἕβδομον, ὄγδοον, ἔνατον, δέκατον·
4 εἶτα ὁ πέμπτος ἀπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ καταγωνισαμένου Πομπήϊον Ἰούλιος· ὁ δὲ ἕκτος Αὔγουστος ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου μὲν ἄρξαντος, Σεβαστοῦ δὲ ἐπικληθέντος, ὠνομάσθη. τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς[1] Δομετιανὸς εἰσεποίησε ταῖς αὑτοῦ προσωνυμίαις οὐ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰς αὑτῶν ἀναλαβόντες πάλιν ἐκείνου σφαγέντος ὁ μὲν ἕβδομος, ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος καλοῦνται. μόνοι δ' οἱ τελευταῖοι δύο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως κλῆσιν, ὥσπερ ἔσχον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, διεφύλαξαν.
5 Τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Νομᾶ προστεθέντων ἢ μετατεθέντων ὁ μὲν Φεβρουάριος οἷον καθάρσιος ἄν τις εἴη· καὶ γὰρ ἡ λέξις ἔγγιστα τοῦτο σημαίνει, καὶ τοῖς φθιτοῖς ἐναγίζουσι τότε καὶ τὴν τῶν Λουπερκαλίων ἑορτὴν εἰς τὰ πολλὰ καθαρμῷ προσεοικυῖαν τελοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ πρῶτος Ἰανουάριος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὸν Μάρτιον ὁ Νομᾶς

[1] ἐφεξῆς Bekker adds δύο.

be derived from Aphrodite, with its rough "ph," but that this month of high spring time is called April because it *opens* and discloses the buds and shoots in vegetation, this being the meaning of the word "aperio." The next month in order is called May, from Maia, the mother of Mercury, to whom it is sacred; and June is so named from Juno. There are some, however, who say that these months get their name from an age, older and younger; for "majores" is their name for the *elder*, "juniores" for the *younger* men. Each of the remaining months they named from its arithmetical position in the list, the fifth Quintilis, the sixth Sextilis, and so on with September, October, November, and December. Afterwards the fifth month was named Julius, from Julius Caesar, the conqueror of Pompey; and the sixth month Augustus, from the second Caesar, who was given that title. The seventh and eighth months bore for a short time the names Germanicus and Domitianus, which the emperor Domitian gave them; but when he was slain, they resumed their old names of September and October. Only the last two months, November and December, preserved the names derived from their position in the list just as they were at the outset.

Of the months which were added or transposed by Numa, February must have something to do with *purification*, for this is nearest to the meaning of the word, and in this month they make offerings to the dead and celebrate the festival of the Lupercalia, which, in most of its features, resembles a purification.[1] The first month, January, is so named from Janus. And I think that March, which is

[1] Cf. *Romulus*, xxi. 4–8.

ἐπώνυμον ὄντα τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας μεταστῆσαι, βουλόμενος ἐν παντὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς
6 δυνάμεως προτιμᾶσθαι τὴν πολιτικήν. ὁ γὰρ Ἰανὸς ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιοῖς εἴτε δαίμων εἴτε βασιλεὺς γενόμενος πολιτικὸς καὶ κοινωνικὸς ἐκ τοῦ θηριώδους καὶ ἀγρίου λέγεται μεταβαλεῖν τὴν δίαιταν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλάττουσιν αὐτὸν ἀμφιπρόσωπον, ὡς ἑτέραν ἐξ ἑτέρας τῷ βίῳ περιποιήσαντα τὴν μορφὴν καὶ διάθεσιν.

XX. Ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ νεὼς ἐν Ῥώμῃ 7
δίθυρος, ὃν πολέμου πύλην καλοῦσι. νομίζεται γὰρ ἀνεῳχθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὅταν ᾖ πόλεμος, κεκλεῖσθαι δὲ εἰρήνης γενομένης. ὃ δὴ χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ σπανίως γινόμενον, ἀεί τινι συνηρτημένης πολέμῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, διὰ μέγεθος τοῖς κύκλῳ περικεχυμένοις γένεσι βαρβάροις ἀντερειδούσης.
2 πλὴν ἐπί γε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκλείσθη καθελόντος Ἀντώνιον· καὶ πρότερον ὑπατευόντων Μάρκου Ἀτιλίου καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου χρόνον οὐ πολύν· εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀνεῳχθη πολέμου συρραγέντος. ἀλλ' ἐπί γε τῆς Νομᾶ βασιλείας οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνεῳγμένος ὤφθη, τρία δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη συνεχῶς ἔμεινε κεκλεισμένος· οὕτως ἐξήρητο παντελῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ
3 πανταχόθεν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἠμέρωτο καὶ κατεκεκήλητο τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πραότητι τοῦ βασιλέως δῆμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κύκλῳ πόλεις, ὥσπερ αὔρας τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἢ πνεύματος ὑγιεινοῦ φέροντος, ἀρχὴ μεταβολῆς ἔλαβε καὶ πόθος εἰσερρύη πάντας εὐνομίας καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γῆν φυτεύειν καὶ τέκνα τρέφειν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ

named from Mars, was moved by Numa from its place at the head of the months because he wished in every case that martial influences should yield precedence to civil and political. For this Janus, in remote antiquity, whether he was a demi-god or a king, was a patron of civil and social order, and is said to have lifted human life out of its bestial and savage state. For this reason he is represented with two faces, implying that he brought men's lives out of one sort and condition into another.

XX. He also has a temple at Rome with double doors, which they call the gates of war; for the temple always stands open in time of war, but is closed when peace has come. The latter was a difficult matter, and it rarely happened, since the realm was always engaged in some war, as its increasing size brought it into collision with the barbarous nations which encompassed it round about. But in the time of Augustus Caesar it was closed, after he had overthrown Antony; and before that, when Marcus Atilius and Titus Manlius were consuls, it was closed a short time; then war broke out again at once, and it was opened. During the reign of Numa, however, it was not seen open for a single day, but remained shut for the space of forty-three years together, so complete and universal was the cessation of war. For not only was the Roman people softened and charmed by the righteousness and mildness of their king, but also the cities round about, as if some cooling breeze or salubrious wind were wafted upon them from Rome, began to experience a change of temper, and all of them were filled with longing desire to have good government, to be at peace, to till the earth, to rear their children

4 σέβεσθαι θεούς. ἑορταὶ δὲ καὶ θαλίαι καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀδεῶς ἰόντων καὶ ἀναμιγνυμένων ὑποδοχαὶ καὶ φιλοφροσύναι τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατεῖχον, οἷον ἐκ πηγῆς τῆς Νομᾶ σοφίας τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπεισρεόντων εἰς ἅπαντας καὶ διαχεομένης τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνον γαλήνης· ὥστε καὶ τὰς ποιητικὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἐνδεῖν πρὸς τὴν τότε κατά-
5 στασιν λέγουσιν· "Ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις πόρπαξιν αἰθὰν ἀραχνᾶν ἔργα·" καί, "εὐρὼς δάμναται ἔγχεά τε λογχωτὰ ξίφεά τ' ἀμφήκεα, χαλκεᾶν δὲ οὐκέτι σαλπίγγων κτύπος, οὐδὲ συλᾶται μελίφρων ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων." οὔτε γὰρ πόλεμος οὔτε στάσις οὔτε νεωτερισμὸς περὶ πολιτείαν ἱστόρηται Νομᾶ βασιλεύοντος· οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἔχθρα τις ἢ φθόνος ἢ δι' ἔρωτα
6 βασιλείας ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ σύστασις ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' εἴτε φόβος θεῶν προκήδεσθαι δοκούντων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴτε τῆς ἀρετῆς αἰδὼς εἴτε δαιμόνιος[1] τύχη, πάσης κακίας ἄθικτον ἐπ' ἐκείνου καὶ καθαρὸν διαφυλάττουσα τὸν βίον, ἐναργὲς ἐξήνεγκε παράδειγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τῆς Πλατωνικῆς φωνῆς, ἣν ὕστερον ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ὀλίγοις χρόνοις
7 γενόμενος ἐτόλμησεν ἀφεῖναι περὶ πολιτείας, ὡς μία κακῶν παῦλα καὶ λύσις ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν, ἔκ τινος τύχης θείας εἰς ταὐτὸ διανοίᾳ φιλοσόφῳ βασιλικὴν συμπεσοῦσαν δύναμιν ἐγκρατῆ καὶ ὑπερδέξιον τῆς κακίας τὴν ἀρετὴν καταστῆσαι. "Μακάριος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς" ὁ σώφρων ὡς ἀλη-

[1] δαιμόνιος Bryan's correction, adopted by Coraës and Bekker: δοίμονος.

in quiet, and to worship the gods. Festivals and feasts, hospitalities and friendly converse between people who visited one another promiscuously and without fear,—these prevailed throughout Italy, while honour and justice flowed into all hearts from the wisdom of Numa, as from a fountain, and the calm serenity of his spirit diffused itself abroad. Thus even the hyperboles of the poets fall short of picturing the state of man in those days: "And on the iron-bound shield-handles lie the tawney spiders' webs"; and, "rust now subdues the sharp-pointed spears and two-edged swords; no longer is the blast of brazen trumpets heard, nor are the eyelids robbed of delicious sleep."[1] For there is no record either of war, or faction, or political revolution while Numa was king. Nay more, no hatred or jealousy was felt towards his person, nor did ambition lead men to plot and conspire against his throne. On the contrary, either fear of the gods, who seemed to have him in their especial care, or reverence for his virtue, or a marvellous felicity, which in his days kept life free from the taint of every vice, and pure, made him a manifest illustration and confirmation of the saying which Plato,[2] many generations later, ventured to utter regarding government, namely, that human ills would only then cease and disappear when, by some divine felicity, the power of a king should be united in one person with the insight of a philosopher, thereby establishing virtue in control and mastery over vice. "Blessed," indeed, is such a wise man

[1] A free citation, apparently from memory, of Bacchylides, Fragment 13 (Bergk). See Jebb's *Bacchylides*, p. 411.
[2] *Republic*, p. 487 e.

θῶς, "μακάριοι δὲ οἱ συνήκοοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σωφρο-
8 νοῦντος στόματος ἰόντων λόγων." τάχα γὰρ οὐδὲ
ἀνάγκης τινὸς δεῖ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐδὲ ἀπει-
λῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐν εὐδήλῳ παραδείγματι
καὶ λαμπρῷ τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ὁρῶντες, ἑκου-
σίως σωφρονοῦσι καὶ συμμετασχηματίζονται
πρὸς τὸν ἐν φιλίᾳ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ μετριότητος ἀμύμονα[1] καὶ
μακάριον βίον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ κάλλιστον ἁπάσης πολι-
τείας τέλος ἐστί, καὶ βασιλικώτατος ἁπάντων
ὁ τοῦτον τὸν βίον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν τοῖς
ὑπηκόοις ἐνεργάσασθαι δυνάμενος. ταῦτα μὲν
οὖν Νομᾶς παντὸς μᾶλλον φαίνεται συνεωρακώς.

XXI. Περὶ δὲ παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ γάμων ἀντι-
λογίαι γεγόνασι τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε
γάμον ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Τατίας λαβεῖν αὐτὸν οὔτε
παιδὸς ἑτέρου γενέσθαι πατέρα πλὴν μιᾶς θυγα-
τρὸς Πομπιλίας λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ τέσ-
σαρας υἱοὺς ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτοῦ, Πόμπωνα,
Πῖνον, Κάλπον, Μάμερκον, ὧν ἕκαστον οἴκου
2 διαδοχὴν καὶ γένους ἐντίμου καταλιπεῖν. εἶναι
γὰρ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Πόμπωνος τοὺς Πομπωνίους,
ἀπὸ δὲ Πίνου τοὺς Πιναρίους, ἀπὸ δὲ Κάλπου 74
τοὺς Καλπουρνίους, ἀπὸ δὲ Μαμέρκου τοὺς Μα-
μερκίους, οἷς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ῥῆγας γενέσθαι
παρωνύμιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλέας. τρίτοι δέ εἰσιν
οἱ τούτων μὲν κατηγοροῦντες ὡς χαριζομένων τοῖς
γένεσι καὶ προστιθέντων οὐκ ἀληθῆ στέμματα
τῆς ἀπὸ Νομᾶ διαδοχῆς, τὴν δὲ Πομπιλίαν οὐκ ἐκ
Τατίας γεγονέναι λέγοντες, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτέρας γυναι-

[1] ἀμύμονα MSS. and edd.: ἀκύμονα (*waveless, serene*), after Wyttenbach.

"in himself, and blessed, too, are those who hear the words of wisdom issuing from his lips." [1] For possibly there is no need of any compulsion or menace in dealing with the multitude, but when they see with their own eyes a conspicuous and shining example of virtue in the life of their ruler, they will of their own accord walk in wisdom's ways, and unite with him in conforming themselves to a blameless and blessed life of friendship and mutual concord, attended by righteousness and temperance. Such a life is the noblest end of all government, and he is most a king who can inculcate such a life and such a disposition in his subjects. This, then, as it appears, Numa was preeminent in discerning.

XXI. As regards his marriages and offspring, historians are at variance. Some say that he had no other wife than Tatia, and no other child than one daughter, Pompilia. Others ascribe to him four sons besides, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, each one of whom was the founder of an honourable family. From Pompon the Pomponii are descended, from Pinus the Pinarii, from Calpus the Calpurnii, and from Mamercus the Mamercii, who for this reason had also the surname of Reges, or *Kings*. But there is a third class of writers who accuse the former of paying court to these great families by forging for them lines of descent from Numa, and they say that Pompilia was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife whom Numa

[1] Cf. Plato, *Laws*, p. 711 e.

3 κός, ἣν ἤδη βασιλεύων ἔγημε, Λουκρητίας· πάντες δ' οὖν ὁμολογοῦσι τὴν Πομπιλίαν Μαρκίῳ γαμηθῆναι. παῖς δὲ ἦν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκείνου Μαρκίου τοῦ Νομᾶ παρορμήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ γὰρ συμμετῴκησεν εἰς Ῥώμην αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου μετέσχε τιμώμενος, καὶ μετὰ τὴν Νομᾶ τελευτὴν Ὀστιλίῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστὰς καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀπεκαρτέρησεν. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μάρκιος ἔχων τὴν Πομπιλίαν κατέμεινεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ Μάρκιον Ἄγκον ἐγέννησεν, ὃς μετὰ Τύλλον Ὀστίλιον ἐβασίλευσε.
4 τοῦτον, ὡς λέγεται, πενταετῆ καταλιπὼν ὁ Νομᾶς ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐ ταχείας οὐδ' αἰφνιδίου γενομένης αὐτῷ τῆς τελευτῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ γήρως καὶ νόσου μαλακῆς ἀπομαραινόμενος, ὡς ἱστόρηκε Πείσων. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα προσβιώσας.

XXII. Ζηλωτὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τάφῳ τὸν βίον ἐποίησαν οἵ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι δῆμοι, συνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἅμα δημοσίαις ἐπιφοραῖς καὶ στεφάνοις, οἵ τε πατρίκιοι τὸ λέχος ἀράμενοι, καὶ συμπαρόντες οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἱερεῖς καὶ παραπέμποντες, ὁ δ' ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἀναμεμιγμένων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων οὐχ ὡς βασιλέως ταφαῖς γηραιοῦ παρόντες, ἀλλ' ὥς τινα τῶν φιλτάτων ἕκαστος ἐν ἀκμῇ βίου ποθούμενον θάπτων, μετ' οἰμω-
2 γῆς καὶ κλαυθμῶν ἑπόμενοι. πυρὶ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔδοσαν τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κωλύσαντος, ὡς λέγεται, δύο δὲ ποιησάμενοι λιθίνας σοροὺς ὑπὸ τὸ Ἰάνοκλον ἔθηκαν, τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ἔχουσαν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἃς ἐγράψατο μὲν αὐτός,

married after he became king. However, all are agreed that Pompilia was married to Marcius. Now this Marcius was a son of the Marcius who induced Numa to accept the throne.[1] That Marcius accompanied Numa to Rome, and there was honoured with membership in the Senate. After Numa's death, he competed for the throne with Hostilius, and being defeated, starved himself to death. But his son Marcius, the husband of Pompilia, remained at Rome, and begat Ancus Marcius, who succeeded Tullus Hostilius in the kingdom. This Ancus Marcius is said to have been only five years old when Numa died, not a speedy nor a sudden death, but wasting away gradually from old age and a mild disorder, as Piso writes. He was something over eighty years old when he died.

XXII. His obsequies were as much to be envied as his life. The peoples which were in alliance and friendship with Rome assembled at the rites with public offerings and crowns; the senators carried his bier, the priests of the gods served as its escort, and the rest of the people, including women and children, followed with groans and lamentations, not as though they were attending the funeral of an aged king, but as though each one of them was burying some dearest relation taken away in the flower of life. They did not burn his body, because, as it is said, he forbade it; but they made two stone coffins and buried them under the Janiculum. One of these held his body, and the other the sacred books which he had written out with his own hand, as the Greek

[1] Cf. chapter vi.

ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νομοθέται τοὺς κύρβεις, ἐκδιδάξας δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔτι ζῶν τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ πάντων ἔξιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐνεργασάμενος αὐτοῖς, ἐκέλευσε συνταφῆναι μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς οὐ καλῶς ἐν ἀψύχοις γράμμασι φρουρουμένων
3 τῶν ἀπορρήτων. ᾧ λογισμῷ φασι μηδὲ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς εἰς γραφὴν κατατίθεσθαι τὰ συντάγματα, μνήμην δὲ καὶ παίδευσιν αὐτῶν ἄγραφον ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις. καὶ τῆς γε περὶ τὰς ἀπόρους καὶ ἀρρήτους λεγομένας ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ μεθόδους πραγματείας πρός τινα τῶν ἀναξίων ἐκδοθείσης, ἔφασαν ἐπισημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεγάλῳ τινὶ καὶ κοινῷ κακῷ τὴν γεγενημένην
4 παρανομίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν ἐπεξερχόμενον. ὥστε συγγνώμην ἔχειν πολλὴν τοῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Πυθαγόρᾳ Νομᾶν φιλοτιμουμένοις συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοσαύταις ὁμοιότησιν.

Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀντίαν ἱστοροῦσι δώδεκα μὲν εἶναι βίβλους ἱεροφαντικάς, δώδεκα δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνικὰς φιλοσόφους τὰς εἰς τὴν σορὸν συντεθείσας. τετρακοσίων δέ που διαγενομένων ἐτῶν ὕπατοι μὲν ἦσαν Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Βαίβιος· ὄμβρων δὲ μεγάλων ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ
5 χώματος περιρραγέντος ἐξέωσε τὰς σοροὺς τὸ ῥεῦμα· καὶ τῶν ἐπιθημάτων ἀποπεσόντων ἡ μὲν ἑτέρα κενὴ παντάπασιν ὤφθη καὶ μέρος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λείψανον ἔχουσα τοῦ σώματος, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν γραμμάτων εὑρεθέντων ἀναγνῶναι μὲν αὐτὰ λέγεται Πετίλιος στρατηγῶν τότε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον κομίσαι,[1] μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ θεμιτὸν εἶναι λέγων μηδὲ ὅσιον ἔκπυστα πολλοῖς τὰ γε-

[1] *κομίσαι* Coraës, Sintenis[1], and Bekker, with C : *ὁρμῆσαι*.

lawgivers their tablets. But since, while he was still living, he had taught the priests the written contents of the books, and had inculcated in their hearts the scope and meaning of them all, he commanded that they should be buried with his body, convinced that such mysteries ought not to be entrusted to the care of lifeless documents. This is the reason, we are told, why the Pythagoreans also do not entrust their precepts to writing, but implant the memory and practice of them in living disciples worthy to receive them. And when their treatment of the abstruse and mysterious processes of geometry had been divulged to a certain unworthy person, they said the gods threatened to punish such lawlessness and impiety with some signal and wide-spread calamity. Therefore we may well be indulgent with those who are eager to prove, on the basis of so many resemblances between them, that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras.

Antias, however, writes that it was twelve pontifical books, and twelve others of Greek philosophy, which were placed in the coffin. And about four hundred years afterwards, when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Baebius were consuls, heavy rains fell, and the torrent of water tore away the earth and dislodged the coffins. When their lids had fallen off, one coffin was seen to be entirely empty, without any trace whatever of the body, but in the other the writings were found. These Petilius, who was then praetor, is said to have read, and then brought to the senate, declaring that, in his opinion, it was not lawful or proper that the

γραμμένα γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ κομισθείσας εἰς τὸ Κομίτιον τὰς βίβλους κατακαῆναι.

6 Πᾶσι μὲν οὖν ἕπεται τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι μείζων ὁ κατόπιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔπαινος, τοῦ φθόνου πολὺν χρόνον οὐκ ἐπιζῶντος, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ προαποθνήσκοντος· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνου γε τὴν δόξαν αἱ τῶν ὕστερον βασιλέων 75
τύχαι λαμπροτέραν ἐποίησαν. πέντε γὰρ γενομένων μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ μὲν ἔσχατος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν φυγῇ κατεγήρασε, τῶν δὲ τεσσάρων οὐδεὶς κατὰ φύσιν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τρεῖς
7 ἐπιβουλευθέντες ἐσφάγησαν, Ὀστίλιος δὲ Τύλλος, ὃς μετὰ Νομᾶν ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐκείνου καλῶν, ἐν δὲ πρώτοις καὶ μάλιστα τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν, ἐπιχλευάσας καὶ καθυβρίσας ὡς ἀργοποιὸν καὶ γυναικώδη, πρὸς πόλεμον ἔτρεψε τοὺς πολίτας, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε τοῖς νεανιεύμασι τούτοις, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ νόσου χαλεπῆς καὶ πολυτρόπου τὴν γνώμην ἀλλασσόμενος εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐνέδωκεν οὐδέν τι τῇ κατὰ Νομᾶν εὐσεβείᾳ προσήκουσαν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐνεποίησε τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ τοιοῦτον πάθος, ὡς λέγεται, καταφλεχθεὶς ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν.

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸν Νομᾶ καὶ Λυκούργου διεληλύθαμεν βίον, ἐκκειμένων ἀμφοῖν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔργον, οὐκ ἀποκνητέον συναγαγεῖν τὰς διαφοράς.

writings should be published abroad. The books were therefore carried to the comitium and burned.

It is true, indeed, of all just and good men, that they are praised more after they have left the world than before, since envy does not long survive them, and some even see it die before them; but in Numa's case the misfortunes of the kings who followed him made his fame shine all the brighter. For of the five who came after him, the last was dethroned and grew old in exile, and of the other four, not one died a natural death. Three of them were conspired against and slain; and Tullus Hostilius, who reigned next after Numa, and who mocked and derided most of his virtues, and above all his devotion to religion, declaring that it made men idle and effeminate, turned the minds of the citizens to war. He himself, however, did not abide by his presumptuous folly, but was converted by a grievous and complicated disease, and gave himself over to a superstition which was far removed from the piety of Numa. His subjects, too, were even more affected with superstition, as we are told, when he died by a stroke of lightning.

COMPARISON OF LYCURGUS AND NUMA

I. Now that we have recounted the lives of Numa and Lycurgus, and both lie clearly before us, we must attempt, even though the task be difficult, to assemble and put together their points of difference.

αἱ μὲν γὰρ κοινότητες ἐπιφαίνονται ταῖς πράξεσιν, οἷον ἡ σωφροσύνη τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἡ εὐσέβεια, τὸ πολιτικόν, τὸ παιδευτικόν, τὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμφοτέρους λαβεῖν τῆς νομοθεσίας· τῶν δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἑκατέρου καλῶν πρῶτόν ἐστι Νομᾶ μὲν ἡ παράληψις τῆς βασιλείας, Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἡ
2 παράδοσις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ αἰτῶν ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ ἔχων ἀπέδωκε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἕτεροι κύριον αὑτῶν κατέστησαν ἰδιώτην καὶ ξένον ὄντα, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς αὑτὸν ἰδιώτην ἐκ βασιλέως ἐποίησε. καλὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ κτήσασθαι δικαιοσύνῃ τὴν βασιλείαν, καλὸν δὲ τὸ προτιμῆσαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς βασιλείας. ἡ γὰρ ἀρετὴ τὸν μὲν οὕτως ἔνδοξον κατέστησεν ὥστε βασιλείας ἀξιωθῆναι, τὸν δὲ οὕτω μέγαν ἐποίησεν ὥστε βασιλείας καταφρονῆσαι.

3 Δεύτερον τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ καθάπερ ἁρμονικοὶ λύρας, ὁ μὲν ἐκλελυμένην καὶ τρυφῶσαν ἐπέτεινε τὴν Σπάρτην, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ σφοδρὸν ἀνῆκε καὶ σύντονον, ἡ μὲν χαλεπότης τοῦ ἔργου τῷ Λυκούργῳ πρόσεστιν. οὐ γὰρ θώρακας ἐκδῦναι καὶ ξίφη τοὺς πολίτας καταθέσθαι ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι καὶ στρωμνὰς ἐκβαλεῖν πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας, οὐδὲ παυσαμένους πολέμων ἑορτάζειν καὶ θύειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖπνα καὶ πότους ἐάσαντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς
4 παλαίστραις διαπονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσκεῖν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν δι' εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς ἅπαντα πείθων ἔπραξεν, ὁ δὲ κινδυνεύων καὶ βαλλόμενος μόγις ἐπεκράτησεν.

For their points of likeness are obvious from their careers: their wise moderation, their piety, their talent for governing and educating, and their both deriving their laws from a divine source. But each also performed noble deeds peculiar to himself. To begin with, Numa accepted, but Lycurgus resigned, a kingdom. One got it without asking for it, the other had it and gave it up. One was made by others their sovereign, though a private person and a stranger; the other made himself a private person, though he was a king. It was a noble thing, of course, to win a kingdom by righteousness; but it was also a noble thing to set righteousness above a kingdom. For it was virtue which rendered the one so famous as to be judged worthy of a kingdom, and virtue, too, which made the other so great as to scorn a kingdom.

In the second place, then, it is granted that, just as musicians tune their lyres, so Lycurgus tightened the strings at Sparta, which he found relaxed with luxury, and Numa loosened the strings at Rome, where the tones were sharp and high; but the task was more difficult in the case of Lycurgus. For his efforts were to persuade the citizens, not to take off their breast-plates and lay aside their swords, but to cast away gold and silver, and abandon costly couches and tables; not to cease from wars and hold festivals and sacrifices, but to give up feasting and drinking and practise laboriously as soldiers and athletes. Wherefore the one accomplished all his ends by persuasion, through the good-will and honour in which his people held him; but the other had to risk his life and suffer wounds, and scarcely then prevailed.

Ἥμερος μέντοι καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἡ τοῦ Νομᾶ μοῦσα πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην μεθαρμοσαμένου καὶ καταπραΰναντος ἐξ ἀκρατῶν καὶ διαπύρων ἠθῶν τοὺς πολίτας. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς Εἵλωτας ἀναγκάσει τις ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Λυκούργου θέσθαι πολιτείαν, ὠμότατον ἔργον καὶ παρανομώτατον, μακρῷ τινι τὸν Νομᾶν ἑλληνικώτερον γεγονέναι νομοθέτην φήσομεν, ὅς γε καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογημένους δούλους ἔγευσε τιμῆς ἐλευθέρας, ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις ἑστιᾶσθαι μετὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀναμεμιγμένους ἐθίσας. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν Νομᾶ πατρίων ἓν εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐτησίων ἀπολαύσεις καρπῶν τοὺς συνεργοὺς παραλαμβάνοντος. ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο ὑπόμνημα τῆς Κρονικῆς ἐκείνης ἰσονομίας ἀποσώζεσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν, ὡς μηδενὸς δούλου μηδὲ δεσπότου, πάντων δὲ συγγενῶν καὶ ἰσοτίμων νομιζομένων.

II. Ὅλως δὲ φαίνονται πρὸς τὴν αὐτάρκειαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ σωφροσύνην ὁμοίως ἄγοντες τὰ πλήθη, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ὁ μὲν τὴν ἀνδρείαν μᾶλλον, ὁ δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἠγαπηκώς· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία διὰ τὴν ὑποκειμένην τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἑκατέρου φύσιν ἢ συνήθειαν, οὐχ ὁμοίαν οὖσαν, ἀνομοίας ἔδει παρασκευῆς. οὔτε γὰρ Νομᾶς διὰ 76
δειλίαν κατέλυσε τὸ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, οὔτε Λυκοῦργος εἰς ἀδικίαν κατεσκεύασε πολεμικούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι. τὰς οὖν ὑπερβολὰς ἀφαιροῦντες ἀμφότεροι καὶ τὰς ἐνδείας ἀναπληροῦντες τῶν ὑπαρχόντων περὶ τοὺς πολίτας, ἠναγκάζοντο μεγάλαις χρῆσθαι μεταβολαῖς.

Numa's muse, however, was gentle and humane, and he converted his people to peace and righteousness, and softened their violent and fiery tempers. And if we must ascribe to the administration of Lycurgus the treatment of the Helots, a most savage and lawless practice, we shall own that Numa was far more Hellenic as a lawgiver, since he gave acknowledged slaves a taste of the dignity of freedom, by making it the custom for them to feast in the company of their masters during the Saturnalia.[1] For this too was one of the institutions of Numa, as we are told, who thereby admitted to the enjoyment of the yearly fruits of the earth those who had helped to produce them. Some, however, fancy that this custom was a reminder of the equality which characterized the famous Saturnian age, when there was neither slave nor master, but all were regarded as kinsmen and equals.

II. In general, both alike manifestly strove to lead their peoples to independence and sobriety; but as regards the other virtues, the one set his affections more on bravery, the other on righteousness; unless, indeed, the different natures or usages on which the government of each was based required different provisions. For it was not out of cowardice that Numa put a stop to the waging of war, but to prevent the commission of injustice; neither was it to promote the commission of injustice that Lycurgus made his people warlike, but that they might not suffer injustice. Accordingly, in removing the excesses and supplying the deficiencies of their citizens, both were forced to make great innovations.

[1] A mid-winter harvest festival in honour of Saturnus.

3 Καὶ μὴν τῆς τε διατάξεως καὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν πολιτευμάτων ὀχλικὴ μὲν ἀκράτως ἡ τοῦ Νομᾶ καὶ θεραπευτικὴ τοῦ πλήθους, ἐκ χρυσοχόων καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σκυτοτόμων συμμιγῆ τινα καὶ παμποίκιλον ἀποφαίνοντος δῆμον, αὐστηρὰ δὲ ἡ Λυκούργειος καὶ ἀριστοκρατική, τὰς μὲν βαναύσους ἀποκαθαίρουσα τέχνας εἰς οἰκετῶν καὶ μετοίκων χεῖρας αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς πολίτας εἰς τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ δόρυ συνάγουσα, πολέμου χειροτέχνας καὶ θεράποντας Ἄρεως ὄντας, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν εἰδότας οὐδὲ μελετῶντας ἢ πείθεσθαι τοῖς
4 ἄρχουσι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ χρηματίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐξῆν, ἵνα ἐλεύθεροι παντελῶς καὶ καθάπαξ ὦσιν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰ χρήματα κατασκευὴ δεδομένη δούλοις καὶ Εἵλωσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ ὄψον διακονία. Νομᾶς δὲ οὐδὲν διέκρινε τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν στρατιωτικὰς ἔπαυσε πλεονεξίας, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον οὐκ ἐκώλυσε χρηματισμόν, οὐδὲ τὴν
5 τοιαύτην κατεστόρεσεν ἀνωμαλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλούτῳ προϊέναι μέχρι παντὸς ἐφῆκε, καὶ πενίας πολλῆς ἀθροιζομένης καὶ ὑπορρεούσης εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠμέλησε, δέον εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ, μηδέπω πολλῆς μηδὲ μεγάλης ἀνισότητος οὔσης, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῖς βίοις ὁμαλῶν καὶ παραπλησίων ὄντων, ἐνστῆναι πρὸς τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὥσπερ Λυκοῦργος, καὶ φυλάξασθαι τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῆς βλάβας, οὐ μικρὰς γενομένας, ἀλλὰ τῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κακῶν, ὅσα συνηνέχθη, σπέρμα καὶ ἀρχὴν παρα-
6 σχούσας. ὁ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἀναδασμὸς οὔτε τὸν Λυκοῦργον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ποιεῖ ψεκτὸν γενόμενος οὔτε τὸν Νομᾶν μὴ γενόμενος. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἕδραν

And surely, as regards the arrangement and classification of the citizens under their respective governments, Numa's was strongly popular and inclined to favour the masses, resulting in a promiscuous and variegated commonalty of goldsmiths, musicians, and leather-workers ; but that of Lycurgus was rigid and aristocratic, relegating the mechanical arts into the hands of slaves and aliens, but confining the citizens themselves to the use of the shield and the spear, so that they were artificers of war and servants of Ares, but knew and cared for nothing else than to obey their commanders and master their enemies. For freemen were not even permitted to transact business, that they might be entirely and forever free, but the whole apparatus of business was turned over to slaves and Helots, just like the preparation and serving of their meals. Numa, on the contrary, made no such distinctions, but, while he put a stop to military rapacity, he prohibited no other gainful occupation. Nor did he reduce the great inequalities resulting therefrom, but left the acquisition of wealth wholly unrestricted, and paid no attention to the great increase of poverty and its gradual influx into the city. And yet it was his duty at the very outset, while as yet there was no general or great disparity of means, but people still lived on much the same plane, to make a stand against rapacity, as Lycurgus did, and take measures of precaution against its mischiefs ; for these were not trifling, but furnished the seed and source of the most and greatest evils of after times. But as regards the redistribution of the land, Lycurgus, in my opinion, is not to be censured for making it, nor Numa for not making it. In the one case, the re-

καὶ κρηπῖδα τῆς πολιτείας ἡ ἰσότης αὕτη παρέσχε, τὸν δὲ προσφάτου τῆς κληρουχίας οὔσης οὐδὲν ἤπειγεν ἄλλον ἐμβαλεῖν ἀναδασμὸν οὐδὲ κινεῖν τὴν πρώτην νέμησιν, ὡς εἰκός ἐστι, κατὰ χώραν μένουσαν.

III. Τῆς δὲ περὶ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τὰς τεκνώσεις κοινωνίας τὸ ἀζηλότυπον ὀρθῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς ἐμποιοῦντες ἀμφότεροι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐ κατὰ πᾶν εἰς τοῦτο συνηνέχθησαν, ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἀνὴρ ἱκανῶς ἔχων παιδοτροφίας, ὑφ' ἑτέρου δὲ πεισθεὶς δεομένου τέκνων, ἐξίστατο τῆς γυναικός, ἐκδόσθαι καὶ μετεκδόσθαι κύριος ὑπάρχων, ὁ δὲ Λάκων, οἴκοι τῆς γυναικὸς οὔσης παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ γάμου μένοντος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δικαίων, μετεδίδου τῷ πείσαντι
2 τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς τέκνωσιν. πολλοὶ δέ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ παρακαλοῦντες εἰσῆγον ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐδόκουν μάλιστα παῖδας εὐειδεῖς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι. τίς οὖν ἡ διάκρισις τῶν ἐθισμῶν; ἢ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἄκρατος ἀπάθεια πρὸς γαμετὴν καὶ τὰ ταράττοντα καὶ κατακαίοντα ζηλοτυπίαις τοὺς πολλούς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ὥσπερ αἰσχυνομένη ἀτυφία τις, παρακάλυμμα τὴν ἐγγύην ἐφελκομένη καὶ τὸ δυσκαρτέρητον ἐξομολογουμένη τῆς κοινωνίας;
3 Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ περὶ τὰς παρθένους φυλακὴ κατέσταλται τῷ Νομᾷ πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ καὶ κόσμιον· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Λυκούργου παντάπασιν ἀναπεπταμένη καὶ ἄθηλυς οὖσα τοῖς ποιηταῖς λόγον παρέσχηκε. φαινομηρίδας τε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὡς

sulting equality was the foundation and base of his polity ; but in the other, since the allotment of lands was recent, there was no urgent reason for introducing another division, or for disturbing the first assignment, which probably was still in force.

III. With regard to community in marriage and parentage, though both, by a sound policy, inculcated in husbands a freedom from selfish jealousy, still, their methods were not entirely alike. The Roman husband, if he had a sufficient number of children to rear, and another, who lacked children, could persuade him to the step, relinquished his wife to him, having the power of surrendering her entirely, or only for a season ; but the Spartan, while his wife remained in his house, and the marriage retained its original rights and obligations, might allow any one who gained his consent to share his wife for the purpose of getting children by her. And many husbands, as we have said,[1] would actually invite into their homes men whom they thought most likely to procure them handsome and noble children. What, then, is the difference between the two customs ? We may say, perhaps, that the Spartan implies a complete indifference to the wife, and to the jealous emotions which confound and consume the hearts of most men ; while the Roman, as if with shame-faced modesty, makes a veil of the new betrothal, and concedes that community of wives is really insupportable.

Still further, Numa's watchful care of young maidens was more conducive to feminine decorum ; but the treatment of them by Lycurgus, being entirely unconfined and unfeminine, has given occasion to the poets. They call them " phainomerides,"

[1] *Lycurgus*, xv. 7.

Ἴβυκος, καὶ ἀνδρομανεῖς λοιδοροῦσιν, ὡς Εὐριπίδης, λέγων·

> Αἳ σὺν νέοισιν ἐξερημοῦσιν[1] δόμους
> γυμνοῖσι μηροῖς καὶ πέπλοις ἀνειμένους.

4 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοῦ παρθενικοῦ χιτῶνος αἱ πτέρυγες 77
οὐκ ἦσαν συνερραμμέναι κάτωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεπτύσσοντο καὶ συνανεγύμνουν ὅλον ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν τὸν μηρόν. καὶ σαφέστατα τὸ γινόμεον εἴρηκε Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τούτοις·

> Καὶ τὰν νέορτον, ἃς ἔτ' ἄστολος χιτὼν
> θυραῖον ἀμφὶ μηρὸν
> πτύσσεται, Ἑρμιόναν.

5 διὸ καὶ θρασύτεραι λέγονται γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρῶτον ἀνδρώδεις τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἅτε δὴ τῶν μὲν οἴκων ἄρχουσαι κατὰ κράτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασι καὶ γνώμης μεταλαμβάνουσαι καὶ παρρησίας περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ὁ δὲ Νομᾶς ταῖς γαμεταῖς τὸ μὲν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐτήρησε πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἣν εἶχον ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου θεραπευόμεναι διὰ τὴν ἁρπαγήν, αἰδῶ δὲ πολλὴν ἐπέστησεν αὐταῖς καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην ἀφεῖλε καὶ νήφειν ἐδίδαξε καὶ σιωπᾶν εἴθισεν, οἴνου μὲν ἀπεχομένας τὸ πάμπαν, λόγῳ δὲ μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀνδρὸς ἄνευ χρωμένας.
6 λέγεται γοῦν ποτε γυναικὸς εἰπούσης δίκην ἰδίαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πέμψαι τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς θεοῦ, πυν-

[1] ἐξερημοῦσιν adapted from ἐξερημοῦσαι (*leaving their homes*).

bare-thighed (so Ibycus), and revile them as mad after men. Thus Euripides says [1] :—

"They leave their homes to mingle with the youths;
Their thighs are naked, flying free their robes."

For in fact the flaps of the tunic worn by their maidens were not sewn together below the waist, but would fly back and lay bare the whole thigh as they walked. Sophocles pictures the thing very clearly in these words [2] :—

"And that young maid, whose tunic, still unsewn,
Lays bare her gleaming thigh
Between its folds, Hermione."

And so their women, it is said, were too bold, putting on men's airs with their husbands even, to begin with, since they ruled their houses absolutely, and besides, on public occasions, taking part in debate and the freest speech on the most important subjects. But Numa, while carefully preserving to the matrons that dignified and honourable relation to their husbands which was bestowed on them by Romulus,[3] when he tried by kindly usage to efface the memory of the violence done them, nevertheless enjoined great modesty upon them, forbade them all busy intermeddling, taught them sobriety, and accustomed them to be silent; wine they were to refrain from entirely, and were not to speak, even on the most necessary topics, unless their husbands were with them. At any rate, it is said that when a woman once pleaded her own cause in the forum, the senate sent to inquire of an oracle what the event might

[1] *Andromache*, 587 f. (Kirchhoff), slightly adapted.
[2] Fragment 788 (Nauck). [3] Cf. *Romulus*, xix. 6.

θανομένην τίνος ἄρα τῇ πόλει σημεῖον εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον. καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐπειθείας καὶ πραότητος αὐτῶν μέγα τεκμήριον ἡ μνήμη τῶν χειρόνων. ὡς γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν οἱ ἱστορικοὶ γράφουσι τοὺς πρώτους ἢ φόνον ἐμφύλιον ἐργασαμένους ἢ πολεμήσαντας ἀδελφοῖς ἢ πατρὸς αὐτόχειρας ἢ μητρὸς
7 γενομένους, οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι μνημονεύουσιν ὅτι πρῶτος μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο γυναῖκα Σπόριος Καρβίλιος, μετὰ τὴν Ῥώμης κτίσιν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις οὐδενὸς τοιούτου γεγονότος, πρώτη δὲ γυνὴ Πιναρίου Θαλαία τοὔνομα διηνέχθη πρὸς ἐκυρὰν αὐτῆς Γεγανίαν Ταρκυνίου Σουπέρβου βασιλεύοντος. οὕτω καλῶς καὶ κοσμίως τεταγμένα τὰ τῶν γάμων ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου.

IV. Τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ τῶν παρθένων ἀγωγῇ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐκδόσεις ὁμολογεῖ, τοῦ μὲν Λυκούργου πεπείρους καὶ ὀργώσας νυμφεύοντος, ὅπως ἥ τε ὁμιλία, δεομένης ἤδη τῆς φύσεως, χάριτος ᾖ καὶ φιλίας ἀρχὴ μᾶλλον ἢ μίσους καὶ φόβου παρὰ φύσιν βιαζομένων, καὶ τὰ σώματα ῥώμην ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸ τὰς κυήσεις ἀναφέρειν καὶ τὰς ὠδῖνας, ὡς ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γαμουμένων ἢ τὸ τῆς τεκνώσεως ἔργον, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων δωδεκαετεῖς καὶ νεωτέρας ἐκδιδόντων· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ἦθος καθαρὸν καὶ ἄθικτον ἐπὶ
2 τῷ γαμοῦντι γίνεσθαι. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι τὸ μὲν

portend for the city. And for their usual gentleness and readiness to obey, there is strong evidence in the specific mention made of those who were less amenable. For just as our Greek historians record the names of those who first slew kinsfolk, or made war on their brothers, or were parricides, or matricides, so the Romans make record of the fact that Spurius Carvilius was the first to divorce his wife, two hundred and thirty years after the founding of Rome, there being no precedent for it; also that the wife of Pinarius, Thalaea by name, was the first woman to quarrel with her own mother-in-law, Gegania, in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. In such fitting and proper manner were marriages regulated by their lawgiver.

IV. Further, the practice of the two peoples in the matter of giving their young maids in marriage conforms to their education of them in general. Lycurgus made them brides only when they were fully ripe and eager for it, in order that intercourse with a husband, coming at a time when nature craved it, might produce a kindly love, instead of the timorous hate that follows unnatural compulsion; also that their bodies might be vigorous enough to endure the strain of conception and child-birth, convinced as he was that marriage had no other end than the production of children. The Romans, on the other hand, gave their maidens in marriage when they were twelve years old, or even younger. In this way more than any other, it was thought, both their bodies and their dispositions would be pure and undefiled when their husbands took control of them. It is clear, therefore, that one practice regarded nature more, with children in view; the other re-

φυσικώτερον πρὸς τέκνωσιν, τὸ δὲ ἠθικώτερον πρὸς συμβίωσιν.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπιστασίαις τε παίδων καὶ συναγελασμοῖς καὶ παιδαγωγίαις καὶ κοινωνίαις, περί τε δεῖπνα καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ παιδιὰς αὐτῶν ἐμμελείαις καὶ διακοσμήσεσιν, οὐδέν τι τοῦ προστυχόντος νομοθέτου βελτίονα τὸν Νομᾶν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πατέρων ποιησάμενον ἐπιθυμίαις ἢ χρείαις τὰς τῶν νέων ἀγω-
3 γάς, εἴτε τις ἐργάτην γῆς βούλοιτο ποιεῖν τὸν υἱὸν εἴτε ναυπηγὸν ἢ χαλκέα διδάσκειν ἢ αὐλητήν, ὥσπερ οὐ πρὸς ἓν τέλος ὀφείλοντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄγεσθαι καὶ συνεπιστρέφεσθαι τοῖς ἤθεσιν, ἀλλ' οἷον εἰς ναῦν ἐπιβάτας ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρας ἥκοντα χρείας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις μόνον φόβῳ τοῦ ἰδίου· συνίστασθαι πρὸς τὸ κοινόν,
4 ἄλλως δὲ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν σκοπεῖν ἕκαστον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐγκαλεῖν νομοθέταις ἐλλείπουσιν ἢ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν· ἀνδρὶ δὲ σοφῷ βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι δήμου νεωστὶ συνισταμένου καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντιτείνοντος, περὶ τί πρῶτον[1] ἦν σπουδάσαι προσῆκον ἢ παίδων ἐκτροφὴν καὶ νέων ἄσκησιν, ὅπως μὴ διάφοροι μηδὲ ταραχώδεις γένοιντο τοῖς ἤθεσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἕν τι 78
κοινὸν ἀρετῆς ἴχνος εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλαττόμενοι
5 καὶ τυπούμενοι συμβαίνοιεν ἀλλήλοις; ὃ δὴ πρός τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ σωτηρίαν νόμων ὠφέλησε τὸν Λυκοῦργον. μικρὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τῶν ὅρκων φόβος, εἰ

[1] πρῶτον Bekker corrects to πρότερον.

garded more the formation of character, with married life in view.

But surely, by his careful attention to boys, by their collection into companies, their discipline and constant association, and by his painstaking arrangements for their meals and bodily exercise and sports, Lycurgus proves that Numa was no more than an ordinary lawgiver. For Numa left the bringing up of youths to the wishes or necessities of their fathers. A father might, if he wished, make his son a tiller of the soil, or a shipwright, or might teach him to be a smith or a flute-player, as if it were not important that all of them should be trained with one and the same end in view from the outset, and have their dispositions formed alike; but rather as if they were like passengers on a ship, each coming with a different object and purpose, and each therefore uniting with the rest for the common good only in times of peril, through fear of private loss, but otherwise consulting only his own interests. Now, it is not worth while to censure the common run of legislators, who fail through ignorance or weakness. But when a wise man had consented to be king over a people newly constituted and pliant to his every wish, what should have been his first care, unless it was the rearing of boys and the training of youths so that there might be no confusing differences in their characters, but that they might be moulded and fashioned from the very outset so as to walk harmoniously together in the same path of virtue? This, indeed, was what helped Lycurgus to secure, among other things, the stability and permanence of his laws. The Spartans took oaths to maintain these laws, it is true, but

μὴ διὰ τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς οἷον ἀνέδευσε[1] τοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν παίδων τοὺς νόμους, καὶ συνῳκείωσε τῇ τροφῇ τὸν ζῆλον τῆς πολιτείας, ὥστε πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν πλείω χρόνον τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα διαμεῖναι τῆς νομοθεσίας, ὥσπερ βαφῆς ἀκράτου καὶ ἰσχυρῶς καθαψαμένης.

6 Νομᾷ δὲ ὅπερ ἦν τέλος τῆς πολιτείας, ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ φιλίᾳ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπάρχειν, εὐθὺς συνεξέλιπε· καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐκείνου τὸν ἀμφίθυρον οἶκον, ὃν κεκλεισμένον αὐτὸς συνεῖχεν, ὥσπερ ὄντως ἐν αὐτῷ τιθασεύων καθειργμένον τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀναπετάσαντες αἵματος καὶ νεκρῶν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐνέπλησαν· καὶ οὐδὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἡ καλλίστη καὶ δικαιοτάτη κατάστασις ἔμεινεν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τὸ συνδετικὸν ἐν αὑτῇ, τὴν παιδείαν, οὐκ ἔχουσα.

7 "Τί οὖν," φήσει τις, "οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἡ Ῥώμη προῆλθε τοῖς πολεμικοῖς;" ἐρωτῶν ἐρώτημα μακρᾶς ἀποκρίσεως δεόμενον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τὸ βέλτιον ἐν πλούτῳ καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ πραότητι καὶ τῇ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης αὐταρκείᾳ τιθεμένους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Λυκούργῳ που δόξει βοηθεῖν, τὸ Ῥωμαίους μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Νομᾶ κατάστασιν ἐξαλλά-

8 ξαντας ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς πράγμασι τοσοῦτον, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐκβῆναι τὴν Λυκούργου διάταξιν, ἐκ μεγίστων ταπεινοτάτους γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν ἀπο-

[1] ἀνέδευσε Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to ἐνέδευσε.

this would have availed little had he not, by means of his training and education of the boys, infused his laws, as it were, into their characters, and made the emulous love of his government an integral part of their rearing. The result was that for more than five hundred years the sovereign and fundamental features of his legislation remained in force, like a strong and penetrating dye.

But that which was the end and aim of Numa's government, namely, the continuance of peace and friendship between Rome and other nations, straightway vanished from the earth with him. After his death the double doors of the temple[1] which he had kept continuously closed, as if he really had war caged and confined there, were thrown wide open, and Italy was filled with the blood of the slain. Thus not even for a little time did the beautiful edifice of justice which he had reared remain standing, because it lacked the cement of education.

"What, then!" some one will say, "was not Rome advanced and bettered by her wars?" That is a question which will need a long answer, if I am to satisfy men who hold that betterment consists in wealth, luxury and empire, rather than in safety, gentleness, and that independence which is attended by righteousness. However, it will be thought, I suppose, to favour the superior claims of Lycurgus, that, whereas the Romans increased in power as they did after abandoning the institutions of Numa's time, the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, just as soon as they forsook the precepts of Lycurgus, sank from the highest to the lowest place, lost their supremacy over the Greeks, and were in danger of

[1] Cf. *Numa*, xx. 1.

βαλόντας κινδυνεῦσαι περὶ ἀναστάσεως. ἐκεῖνο μέντοι τῷ Νομᾷ μέγα καὶ θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπάρχει, τὸ ξένῳ τε μεταπέμπτῳ γενέσθαι καὶ πάντα πειθοῖ μεταβαλεῖν, καὶ κρατῆσαι πόλεως οὔπω συμπεπνευκυίας, μήτε ὅπλων δεηθέντα μήτε βίας τινός, ὡς Λυκοῦργος ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἦγε τοὺς ἀρίστους, ἀλλὰ σοφίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ πάντας προσαγαγόμενον καὶ συναρμόσαντα.

utter destruction. Nevertheless, this remains a great feature in Numa's career, and one really divine, that he was a stranger, and yet was summoned to the throne, where he changed the whole nature of the state by force of persuasion alone, and mastered a city which was not yet in sympathy with his views ; and that he accomplished this without appeal to arms or any violence (unlike Lycurgus, who led the nobles in arms against the commons), but by his wisdom and justice won the hearts of all the citizens and brought them into harmony.

SOLON

ΣΟΛΩΝ

I. Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἀξόνων τῶν Σόλωνος ἀντιγραφῇ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην Φιλοκλέους τινὸς τέθεικε λέξιν, ἐν ᾗ τὸν Σόλωνα πατρὸς Εὐφορίωνος ἀποφαίνει παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων δόξαν, ὅσοι μέμνηνται Σόλωνος. Ἐξηκεστίδου γὰρ αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ὁμαλῶς γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀνδρὸς οὐσίᾳ μέν, ὥς φασι, καὶ δυνάμει μέσου τῶν πολιτῶν, οἰκίας δὲ πρώτης
2 κατὰ γένος· ἦν γὰρ Κοδρίδης ἀνέκαθεν. τὴν δὲ μητέρα τοῦ Σόλωνος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ τῆς Πεισιστράτου μητρὸς ἀνεψιὰν γενέσθαι. καὶ φιλία τὸ πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς πολλὴ μὲν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, πολλὴ δὲ διὰ τὴν 7 εὐφυΐαν καὶ ὥραν, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐρωτικῶς τὸν Πεισίστρατον ἀσπαζομένου τοῦ Σόλωνος. ὅθεν ὕστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς διαφορὰν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καταστάντων οὐδὲν ἤνεγκεν ἡ ἔχθρα σκληρὸν οὐδ' ἄγριον πάθος, ἀλλὰ παρέμεινεν ἐκεῖνα τὰ δίκαια ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ παρεφύλαξε,

Τυφόμενα Δίου πυρὸς ἔτι ζῶσαν φλόγα,

3 τὴν ἐρωτικὴν μνήμην καὶ χάριν. ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς καλοὺς οὐκ ἦν ἐχυρὸς ὁ Σόλων οὐδ' Ἔρωτι θαρραλέος "ἀνταναστῆναι πύκτης ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας,"[1]

[1] Ἔρωτι μέν νυν ὅστις ἀνταν ίσταται
πύκτης ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας, οὐ καλῶς φρονεῖ.
(Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 441 f.)

SOLON

I. Didymus the grammarian, in his reply to Asclepiades on Solon's tables of law, mentions a remark of one Philocles, in which it is stated that Solon's father was Euphorion, contrary to the opinion of all others who have written about Solon. For they all unite in saying that he was a son of Execestides, a man of moderate wealth and influence in the city, but a member of its foremost family, being descended from Codrus. Solon's mother, according to Heracleides Ponticus, was a cousin of the mother of Peisistratus. And the two men were at first great friends, largely because of their kinship, and largely because of the youthful beauty of Peisistratus, with whom, as some say, Solon was passionately in love. And this may be the reason why, in later years, when they were at variance about matters of state, their enmity did not bring with it any harsh or savage feelings, but their former amenities lingered in their spirits, and preserved there,

"smouldering with a lingering flame of Zeus-sent fire," [1]

the grateful memory of their love. And that Solon was not proof against beauty in a youth, and made not so bold with Love as "to confront him like a boxer, hand to hand," may be inferred from his

[1] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 8.

ἔκ τε τῶν ποιημάτων αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἔστι, καὶ νόμον ἔγραψε διαγορεύοντα δοῦλον μὴ ξηραλοιφεῖν μηδὲ παιδεραστεῖν, εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν μερίδα καὶ σεμνῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τιθέμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοὺς ἀξίους προκαλού-
4 μενος ὧν τοὺς ἀναξίους ἀπήλαυνε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἐραστὴς Χάρμου γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἔρωτος ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καθιερῶσαι, ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσιν οἱ τὴν ἱερὰν λαμπάδα διαθέοντες.

II. Ὁ δ' οὖν Σόλων τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλαττώσαντος εἰς φιλανθρωπίας τινάς, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, καὶ χάριτας, οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσας τῶν βουλομένων ἐπαρκεῖν, αἰδούμενος δὲ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἑτέρων ἐξ οἰκίας γεγονὼς εἰθισμένης ἑτέροις βοηθεῖν, ὥρμησε νέος ὢν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμπορίαν. καίτοι φασὶν ἔνιοι πολυπειρίας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον καὶ ἱστορίας ἢ χρηματισμοῦ πλανηθῆναι τὸν Σόλωνα.
2 σοφίας μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁμολογουμένως ἐραστής, ὅς γε καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἔλεγε "γηράσκειν αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος."[1] πλοῦτον δ' οὐκ ἐθαύμαζεν, ἀλλὰ καί φησιν ὁμοίως πλουτεῖν ᾧ τε[2]

πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστι
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία
ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ μόνα ταῦτα πάρεστι,
γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῇ καὶ ποσὶν ἁβρὰ παθεῖν,
παιδός τ' ἠδὲ γυναικός, ἐπὴν καὶ ταῦτ' ἀφίκηται,
ἥβη, σὺν δ' ὥρη γίνεται ἁρμοδία.

[1] Γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. Fragment 18 (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* ii.[4] p. 47).

[2] Ἶσόν τοι πλουτοῦσιν ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ., Fragment 24 (Bergk), verses 1–6.

poems. He also wrote a law forbidding a slave to practise gymnastics or have a boy lover, thus putting the matter in the category of honourable and dignified practices, and in a way inciting the worthy to that which he forbade the unworthy. And it is said that Peisistratus also had a boy lover, Charmus, and that he dedicated the statue of Love in the Academy, where the runners in the sacred torch race light their torches.

II. Solon, then, after his father had impaired his estate in sundry benevolent charities, as Hermippus tells us, might have found friends enough who were willing to aid him. But he was ashamed to take from others, since he belonged to a family which had always helped others, aud therefore, while still a young man, embarked in commerce. And yet some say that he travelled to get experience and learning rather than to make money. For he was admittedly a lover of wisdom, since even when he was well on in years he would say that he "grew old ever learning many things"; and he was not an admirer of wealth, but actually says that two men are alike wealthy of whom one

> "much silver hath,
> And gold, and wide domains of wheat-bearing soil,
> Horses and mules; while to the other only enough belongs
> To give him comfort of food, and clothes, and shoes,
> Enjoyment of child and blooming wife, when these too come,
> And only years commensurate therewith are his."

3 ἀλλ' ἑτέρωθι λέγει·

Χρήματα δ' ἱμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πε-
πᾶσθαι
οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη.

κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα μήτε τῶν περιττῶν τὴν κτῆσιν ἐν σπουδῇ τίθεσθαι μήτε τῆς χρείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἱκανῶν καταφρονεῖν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε χρόνοις, καθ' Ἡσίοδον, ἔργον οὐδὲν ἦν ὄνειδος, οὐδὲ τέχνη διαφοράν ἔφερεν, ἐμπορία δὲ καὶ δόξαν εἶχεν οἰκειουμένη τὰ βαρβαρικὰ καὶ προξενοῦσα φιλίας βασιλέων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐμπείρους ποιοῦ-
4 σα πολλῶν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πόλεων οἰκισταὶ γεγόνασι μεγάλων, ὡς καὶ Μασσαλίας Πρῶτις ὑπὸ Κελτῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ἀγαπηθείς. καὶ Θαλῆν δέ φασιν ἐμπορίᾳ χρήσασθαι καὶ Ἱπποκράτην τὸν μαθηματικόν, καὶ Πλάτωνι τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐφόδιον ἐλαίου τινὸς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διάθεσιν γενέσθαι.

III. Τὸ δ' οὖν εὐδάπανον τῷ Σόλωνι καὶ ὑγρὸν πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν, καὶ τὸ φορτικώτερον ἢ φιλοσοφώτερον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν, τὸν ἐμπορικὸν οἴονται βίον προστετρῖφθαι· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἔχοντα κινδύνους καὶ μεγάλους ἀνταπαιτεῖν πάλιν εὐπαθείας τινὰς καὶ
2 ἀπολαύσεις. ὅτι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν πενήτων μερίδι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τῶν πλουσίων ἔταττε, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τούτων·

Πολλοὶ γὰρ πλουτεῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πέ-
νονται·
ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειψόμεθα

However, in another place he says:—[1]

"Wealth I desire to have; but wrongfully to get it,
I do not wish. Justice, even if slow, is sure."

And there is no reason why a good statesman should either set his heart too much on the acquisition of superfluous wealth, or despise unduly the use of what is necessary and convenient. In those earlier times, to use the words of Hesiod,[2] "work was no disgrace," nor did a trade bring with it social inferiority, and the calling of a merchant was actually held in honour, since it gave him familiarity with foreign parts, friendships with foreign kings, and a large experience in affairs. Some merchants were actually founders of great cities, as Protis, who was beloved by the Gauls along the Rhone, was of Marseilles. Thales is said to have engaged in trade, as well as Hippocrates the mathematician; and Plato defrayed the expenses of his sojourn there by the sale of oil in Egypt.

III. Accordingly, if Solon's way of living was expensive and profuse, and if, in his poems, he speaks of pleasure with more freedom than becomes a philosopher, this is thought to be due to his mercantile life; he encountered many and great dangers, and sought his reward therefor in sundry luxuries and enjoyments. But that he classed himself among the poor rather than the rich, is clear from these verses:—[3]

"For often evil men are rich, and good men poor;
But we will not exchange with them

[1] Fragment 13 (Bergk), verses 7 f.
[2] *Works and Days*, 311. [3] Fragment 15 (Bergk).

τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον· ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον
αἰεί,
χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

3 τῇ δὲ ποιήσει κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ἄξιον 80
σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ παίζων ἔοικε προσχρήσασθαι
καὶ παράγων ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν· ὕστερον
δὲ καὶ γνώμας ἐνέτεινε φιλοσόφους καὶ τῶν
πολιτικῶν πολλὰ συγκατέπλεκε τοῖς ποιήμασιν,
οὐχ ἱστορίας ἕνεκεν καὶ μνήμης, ἀλλ' ἀπολογι-
σμούς τε τῶν πεπραγμένων ἔχοντα καὶ προτρο-
πὰς ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ νουθεσίας καὶ ἐπιπλήξεις πρὸς
4 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς
νόμους ἐπεχείρησεν ἐντείνας εἰς ἔπος ἐξενεγκεῖν,
καὶ διαμνημονεύουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν·

Πρῶτα μὲν εὐχώμεσθα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆϊ
θεσμοῖς τοῖσδε τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάσ-
σαι.

Φιλοσοφίας δὲ τοῦ ἠθικοῦ μάλιστα τὸ πολιτι-
κόν, ὥσπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν σοφῶν, ἠγάπησεν.
ἐν δὲ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἁπλοῦς ἐστι λίαν καὶ ἀρχαῖος,
ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τούτων·

5 Ἐκ νεφέλης πέλεται χιόνος μένος ἠδὲ χαλάζης·
βροντὴ δ' ἐκ λαμπρᾶς γίνεται ἀστεροπῆς.
ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταράσσεται· ἢν δέ τις
αὐτὴν
μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη.

καὶ ὅλως ἔοικεν ἡ Θάλεω μόνου σοφία τότε
περαιτέρω τῆς χρείας ἐξικέσθαι τῇ θεωρίᾳ· τοῖς

Our virtue for their wealth, since one abides alway,
While riches change their owners every day."

And he seems to have composed his poetry at first with no serious end in view, but as amusement and diversion in his hours of leisure. Then later, he put philosophic maxims into verse, and interwove many political teachings in his poems, not simply to record and transmit them, but because they contained justifications of his acts, and sometimes exhortations, admonitions, and rebukes for the Athenians. Some say, too, that he attempted to reduce his laws to heroic verse before he published them, and they give us this introduction to them :—

"First let us offer prayers to Zeus, the royal son of Cronus,
That he may give these laws of ours success and fame." [1]

In philosophy, he cultivated chiefly the domain of political ethics, like most of the wise men of the time ; and in physics, he is very simple and antiquated, as is clear from the following verses :—

"From clouds come sweeping snow and hail,
And thunder follows on the lightning's flash.
By winds the sea is lashed to storm, but if it be
Unvexed, it is of all things most amenable." [2]

And in general, it would seem that Thales was the only wise man of the time who carried his speculations beyond the realm of the practical ; the

[1] Fragment 31 (Bergk).
[2] Fragment 9, verses 1-2 ; and fragment 12 (Bergk).

δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς τοὔνομα τῆς σοφίας ὑπῆρξε.

IV. Γενέσθαι δὲ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἔν τε Δελφοῖς ὁμοῦ λέγονται καὶ πάλιν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Περιάνδρου σύλλογόν τινα κοινὸν αὐτῶν καὶ συμπόσιον κατασκευάσαντος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς ἀξίωμα καὶ δόξαν αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν ἡ τοῦ τρίποδος περίοδος καὶ διὰ πάντων ἀνακύκλησις καὶ ἀνθύπειξις μετ' 2 εὐμενείας φιλοτίμου γενομένη. Κῴων γάρ, ὥς φασι, καταγόντων σαγήνην, καὶ ξένων ἐκ Μιλήτου πριαμένων τὸν βόλον οὔπω φανερὸν ὄντα, χρυσοῦς ἐφάνη τρίπους ἑλκόμενος, ὃν λέγουσιν Ἑλένην πλέουσαν ἐκ Τροίας αὐτόθι καθεῖναι χρησμοῦ τινος ἀναμνησθεῖσαν παλαιοῦ. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς ξένοις πρῶτον ἀντιλογίας πρὸς τοὺς ἁλιέας περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος, εἶτα τῶν πόλεων ἀναδεξαμένων τὴν διαφορὰν ἄχρι πολέμου προελθοῦσαν, ἀνεῖλεν ἀμφοτέροις ἡ Πυθία τῷ σοφω- 3 τάτῳ τὸν τρίποδα ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Θαλῆν εἰς Μίλητον, ἑκουσίως τῶν Κῴων ἑνὶ δωρουμένων ἐκείνῳ περὶ οὗ πρὸς ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ Μιλησίους ἐπολέμησαν. Θάλεω δὲ Βίαντα σοφώτερον ἀποφαίνοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἦκεν· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δ' αὖθις ἀπεστάλη πρὸς ἄλλον ὡς σοφώτερον. εἶτα περιϊὼν καὶ ἀναπεμπόμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Θαλῆν τὸ δεύτερον ἀφίκετο, καὶ τέλος εἰς Θήβας ἐκ Μιλήτου κομισθεὶς τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι καθιερώθη.

rest[1] got the name of wisdom from their excellence as statesmen.

IV. They are all said to have met together at Delphi, and again in Corinth, where Periander arranged something like a joint conference for them, and a banquet. But what contributed still more to their honour and fame was the circuit which the tripod made among them, its passing round through all their hands, and their mutual declination of it, with generous expressions of good will. Some Coans, as the story goes, were dragging in a net, and some strangers from Miletus bought the catch as yet unseen. It proved to contain a golden tripod which Helen, on her voyage from Troy, is said to have thrown in there, when she called to mind a certain ancient oracle. First the strangers had a dispute with the fishermen about the tripod, and then their cities took up the quarrel and went at last to war, whereupon the Pythian priestess of Apollo told both parties in an oracle that the tripod must be given to the wisest man. So in the first place it was sent to Thales at Miletus, the Coans willingly bestowing upon him alone that for which they had waged war against all the Milesians together. But Thales declared that Bias was a wiser man than he, and the tripod was sent to Bias. From Bias, in his turn, it was dispatched to another, as wiser than he. So it went the rounds and was sent away by each in turn, until at last it came to Thales for the second time. Finally, it was carried from Miletus to Thebes and dedicated to Ismenian Apollo.

[1] The names usually given in the list of the Seven Wise Men are: Bias of Priene, Chilon of Sparta, Cleobulus of Lindus, Periander of Corinth, Pittacus of Mitylene, Solon of Athens, and Thales of Miletus. See chapter xii. 4.

4 Θεόφραστος δέ φησι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Πριήνην Βίαντι τὸν τρίποδα πεμφθῆναι, δεύτερον δ' εἰς Μίλητον Θαλῆ Βίαντος ἀποπέμψαντος· οὕτω δὲ διὰ πάντων πάλιν εἰς Βίαντα περιελθεῖν, τέλος δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποσταλῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ πλειόνων τεθρύληται, πλὴν ὅτι τὸ δῶρον ἀντὶ τοῦ τρίποδος οἱ μὲν φιάλην ὑπὸ Κροίσου πεμφθεῖσαν, οἱ δὲ ποτήριον Βαθυκλέους ἀπολιπόντος εἶναι λέγουσιν.

V. Ἰδίᾳ δ' Ἀναχάρσεώς τε πρὸς Σόλωνα καὶ πάλιν Θάλεω συνουσίαν τινὰ καὶ λόγους ἀναγράφουσι τοιούτους. Ἀνάχαρσιν μὲν εἰς Ἀθήνας φασὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Σόλωνος οἰκίαν ἐλθόντα κόπτειν, καὶ λέγειν ὡς ξένος ὢν ἀφῖκται φιλίαν ποιησόμενος καὶ ξενίαν πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὡς οἴκοι βέλτιόν ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι φιλίας, "Οὐκοῦν," φάναι τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν, "αὐτὸς ὢν οἴκοι
2 σὺ ποίησαι φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς." οὕτω δὴ θαυμάσαντα τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸν Σόλωνα δέξασθαι φιλοφρόνως, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ κατασχεῖν παρ' αὑτῷ, ἤδη τὰ δημόσια πράττοντα καὶ συν- 81
ταττόμενον τοὺς νόμους. τὸν οὖν Ἀνάχαρσιν πυθόμενον καταγελᾶν τῆς πραγματείας τοῦ Σόλωνος, οἰομένου γράμμασιν ἐφέξειν τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ πλεονεξίας τῶν πολιτῶν, ἃ μηδὲν τῶν ἀραχνίων διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκεῖνα τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ λεπτοὺς τῶν ἁλισκομένων καθέξειν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
3 δυνατῶν καὶ πλουσίων διαρραγήσεσθαι. τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα πρὸς ταῦτά φασιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ συνθήκας ἄνθρωποι φυλάττουσιν, ἃς οὐδετέρῳ λυσι-

Theophrastus, however, says that the tripod was sent in the first place to Bias at Priene, and in the second place to Thales at Miletus, at the instance of Bias, and so passed through the hands of all the wise men until it came round again to Bias, and finally was sent to Delphi. These, then, are the more common versions of the tale. But some say that the gift thus passed from hand to hand was not the tripod now seen at Delphi, but a bowl sent there by Croesus; and others that it was a beaker left there by Bathycles.

V. In particular we are told of private intercourse between Solon and Anacharsis, and between Solon and Thales, of which the following accounts are given.[1] Anacharsis came to Athens, knocked at Solon's door, and said that he was a stranger who had come to make ties of friendship and hospitality with him. On Solon's replying that it was better to make one's friendships at home, "Well then," said Anacharsis, "do thou, who art at home, make me thy friend and guest." So Solon, admiring the man's ready wit, received him graciously and kept him with him some time. This was when he was already engaged in public affairs and compiling his laws. Anacharsis, accordingly, on learning what Solon was about, laughed at him for thinking that he could check the injustice and rapacity of the citizens by written laws, which were just like spiders' webs; they would hold the weak and delicate who might be caught in their meshes, but would be torn in pieces by the rich and powerful. To this Solon is said to have answered that men keep their agreements with each other when neither party profits by

[1] In chapters. v. and vi.

τελές ἐστι παραβαίνειν τῶν θεμένων· καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτὸς οὕτως ἁρμόζεται τοῖς πολίταις ὥστε πᾶσι τοῦ παρανομεῖν βέλτιον ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς Ἀνάχαρσις εἴκαζεν ἀπέβη μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ Σόλωνος. ἔφη δὲ κἀκεῖνο θαυμάζειν ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐκκλησίᾳ παραγενόμενος, ὅτι λέγουσι μὲν οἱ σοφοὶ παρ' Ἕλλησι, κρίνουσι δὲ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς.

VI. Πρὸς Θαλῆν δ' εἰς Μίλητον ἐλθόντα τὸν Σόλωνα θαυμάζειν ὅτι γάμου καὶ παιδοποιΐας τὸ παράπαν ἠμέληκε. καὶ τὸν Θαλῆν τότε μὲν σιωπῆσαι, διαλιπόντα δ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἄνδρα παρασκευάσαι ξένον, ἀρτίως ἥκειν φάσκοντα δεκαταῖον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος εἰ δή τι καινὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, δεδιδαγμένον ἃ χρὴ λέγειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "Οὐδέν," εἰπεῖν, "ἕτερον, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία νεανίσκου τινὸς ἦν ἐκφορὰ
2 καὶ προὔπεμπεν ἡ πόλις. ἦν γὰρ υἱός, ὡς ἔφασαν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ πρωτεύοντος ἀρετῇ τῶν πολιτῶν· οὐ παρῆν δέ, ἀλλ' ἀποδημεῖν ἔφασαν αὐτὸν ἤδη πολὺν χρόνον." "Ὡς δυστυχὴς ἐκεῖνος," φάναι τὸν Σόλωνα. "τίνα δὲ ὠνόμαζον αὐτόν;" "Ἤκουσα," φάναι, "τοὔνομα," τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "ἀλλ' οὐ μνημονεύω· πλὴν ὅτι πολὺς λόγος ἦν αὐτοῦ σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης." οὕτω δὴ καθ' ἑκάστην ἀπόκρισιν τῷ φόβῳ προσαγόμενον τὸν Σόλωνα καὶ τέλος ἤδη συντεταραγμένον αὐτὸν ὑποβάλλειν τοὔνομα τῷ ξένῳ, πυνθανόμενον μὴ Σόλωνος
3 ὁ τεθνηκὼς υἱὸς ὠνομάζετο. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὸν μὲν ὁρμῆσαι παίειν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τἆλλα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν ἃ συμβαίνει τοῖς

the breaking of them, and he was adapting his laws to the citizens in such a manner as to make it clear to all that the practice of justice was more advantageous than the transgression of the laws. But the results justified the conjecture of Anacharsis rather than the hopes of Solon. It was Anacharsis, too, who said, after attending a session of the assembly, that he was amazed to find that among the Greeks, the wise men pleaded causes, but the fools decided them.

VI. On his visit to Thales at Miletus, Solon is said to have expressed astonishment that his host was wholly indifferent to marriage and the getting of children. At the time Thales made no answer, but a few days afterwards he contrived to have a stranger say that he was just arrived after a ten days' journey from Athens. When Solon asked what news there was at Athens, the man, who was under instructions what to say, answered: "None other than the funeral of a young man, who was followed to the grave by the whole city. For he was the son, as I was told, of an honoured citizen who excelled all others in virtue; he was not at the funeral of his son; they told me that he had been travelling abroad for a long time." "O the miserable man!" said Solon; "pray, what was his name?" "I heard the name," the man said, "but I cannot recall it; only there was great talk of his wisdom and justice." Thus every answer heightened Solon's fears, and at last, in great distress of soul, he told his name to the stranger and asked him if it was Solon's son that was dead. The man said it was; whereupon Solon began to beat his head and to do and say everything else that betokens a transport of

περιπαθοῦσι, τὸν δὲ Θαλῆν ἐπιλαβόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ γελάσαντα, "Ταῦτά τοι," φάναι, "ὦ Σόλων, ἐμὲ γάμου καὶ παιδοποιΐας ἀφίστησιν, ἃ καὶ σὲ κατερείπει τὸν ἐρρωμενέστατον. ἀλλὰ θάρρει τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα τούτων· οὐ γάρ εἰσιν ἀληθεῖς." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἕρμιππος ἱστορεῖν φησι Πάταικον, ὃς ἔφασκε τὴν Αἰσώπου ψυχὴν ἔχειν.

VII. Ἄτοπος δὲ καὶ ἀγεννὴς ὁ τῷ φόβῳ τῆς ἀποβολῆς τὴν κτῆσιν ὧν χρὴ προϊέμενος· οὕτω γὰρ ἄν τις οὐ πλοῦτον, οὐ δόξαν, οὐ σοφίαν ἀγαπήσειε παραγενομένην, δεδιὼς στέρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀρετήν, ἧς κτῆμα μεῖζον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἥδιον, ἐξισταμένην ὑπὸ νόσων καὶ φαρμάκων ὁρῶμεν· αὐτῷ τε Θαλῇ μὴ γήμαντι πλέον οὐδὲν εἰς ἀφοβίαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ φίλων κτῆσιν ἔφυγε καὶ οἰκείων
2 καὶ πατρίδος. ἀλλὰ καὶ παῖδα θετὸν ἔσχε ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὥς φασι, Κύβισθον. ἐχούσης γάρ τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαπητικὸν ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ πεφυκυίας, ὥσπερ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μνημονεύειν, οὕτω καὶ φιλεῖν, ἐνδύεταί τι τούτῳ καὶ προσφύεται τῶν ἐκτὸς οἷς οἰκεῖον οὐδέν ἐστιν, καὶ καθάπερ οἶκον ἢ χώραν γνησίων ἔρημον διαδόχων, τὸ φιλόστοργον ἀλλότριοι καὶ νόθοι παῖδες ἢ θεράποντες εἰσοικισάμενοι καὶ καταλαβόντες ἅμα τῷ φιλεῖν τὸ φροντίζειν καὶ δεδιέναι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνεποίησαν.
3 ὥστ' ἴδοις ἂν ἀνθρώπους στερροτέρᾳ τῇ φύσει περὶ γάμου καὶ γενέσεως παίδων διαλεγομένους, εἶτα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ παισὶν οἰκοτρίβων ἢ θρέμμασι παλλακῶν νοσοῦσι καὶ θνήσκουσι παρατεινομένους πόθῳ καὶ φωνὰς ἀγεννεῖς ἀφιέντας.

grief. But Thales took him by the hand and said, with a smile, "This it is, O Solon, which keeps me from marriage and the getting of children; it overwhelms even thee, who art the most stout-hearted of men. But be not dismayed at this story, for it is not true." Such, at any rate, according to Hermippus, is the story of Pataecus, who used to boast that he had Aesop's soul.

VII. However, it is irrational and ignoble to renounce the acquisition of what we want for fear of losing it; for on this principle a man cannot be gratified by the possession of wealth, or honour, or wisdom, for fear he may be deprived of them. Indeed, even virtue, the most valuable and pleasing possession in the world, is often banished by sickness and drugs. And Thales himself, though unmarried, was nevertheless not wholly free from apprehension, unless he also avoided having friends, or relations, or country. On the contrary, he had a son by his own adoption, as we are told, Cybisthus, his sister's son. For the soul has in itself a capacity for affection, and loves just as naturally as it perceives, understands, and remembers. It clothes itself in this capacity, and attaches itself to those who are not akin to it, and just as if it were a house or an estate that lacks lawful heirs, this craving for affection is entered and occupied by alien and illegitimate children, or retainers, who, along with love for them, inspire anxiety and fear in their behalf. So that you will find men of a somewhat rugged nature who argue against marriage and the begetting of children, and then, when children of their servants, or offspring of their concubines fall sick and die, these same men are racked with sorrow and lament abjectly. Some, too,

ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κυνῶν θανάτῳ καὶ ἵππων αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀβιώτως ὑπὸ λύπης διετέθησαν. ἀλλ' ἕτεροί γε παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς ἀποβαλόντες οὐδὲν ἔπαθον δεινὸν οὐδ' ἐποίησαν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρώμενοι
4 τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ κατὰ λόγον διετέλεσαν. ἀσθένεια γάρ, οὐκ εὔνοια, λύπας ἀπεράντους ἐπάγεται καὶ φόβους ἀνθρώποις ἀνασκήτοις ὑπὸ λόγου πρὸς τύχην, οἷς οὐδ' ἀπόλαυσις ἐγγίνεται τοῦ ποθουμένου παρόντος, τοῦ μέλλοντος ὠδῖνας ἀεὶ καὶ τρόμους καὶ ἀγῶνας, εἰ στερήσονται, παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς. δεῖ δὲ μήτε πενίᾳ πρὸς χρημάτων πεφράχθαι[1] στέρησιν μήτε ἀφιλίᾳ πρὸς φίλων ἀποβολὴν μήτ' ἀπαιδίᾳ πρὸς τέκνων θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς πάντα. καὶ ταῦτα μέν, ὡς ἐν τῷ παρόντι, πλείονα τῶν ἱκανῶν.

VIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μακρόν τινα καὶ δυσχερῆ πόλεμον οἱ ἐν ἄστει περὶ τῆς Σαλαμινίων νήσου Μεγαρεῦσι πολεμοῦντες ἐξέκαμον, καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο μήτε γράψαι τινὰ μήτ' εἰπεῖν αὖθις ὡς χρὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, βαρέως φέρων τὴν ἀδοξίαν ὁ Σόλων, καὶ τῶν νέων ὁρῶν πολλοὺς δεομένους ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ θαρροῦντας ἄρξασθαι διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐσκήψατο μὲν ἔκστασιν τῶν λο-
2 γισμῶν, καὶ λόγος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας διεδόθη παρακινητικῶς ἔχειν αὐτόν, ἐλεγεῖα δὲ κρύφα συνθεὶς καὶ μελετήσας ὥστε λέγειν ἀπὸ στόματος, ἐξεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἄφνω πιλίδιον περιθέμενος. ὄχλου δὲ πολλοῦ συνδρα-

[1] πεφράχθαι Bekker and Cobet, after Bryan: πεπαῦσθαι (*be delivered from*).

at the death even of dogs and horses, have been plunged into shameful and intolerable grief. But others have borne the loss of noble sons without terrible sorrow or unworthy conduct, and have conformed the rest of their lives to the dictates of reason. For it is weakness, not kindness, that brings men into endless pains and terrors when they are not trained by reason to endure the assaults of fortune. Such men do not even enjoy what they long for when they get it, but are filled with continual pangs, tremors, and struggles by the fear of future loss. However, we must be fortified not by poverty against deprivation of worldly goods, nor by friendlessness against loss of friends, nor by childlessness against death of children, but by reason against all adversities. This, under present circumstances, is more than enough on this head.

VIII. Once when the Athenians were tired out with a war which they were waging against the Megarians for the island of Salamis, they made a law that no one in future, on pain of death, should move, in writing or orally, that the city take up its contention for Salamis. Solon could not endure the disgrace of this, and when he saw that many of the young men wanted steps taken to bring on the war, but did not dare to take those steps themselves on account of the law, he pretended to be out of his head, and a report was given out to the city by his family that he showed signs of madness. He then secretly composed some elegiac verses, and after rehearsing them so that he could say them by rote, he sallied out into the market-place of a sudden, with a cap upon his head. After a large crowd had

μόντος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ κήρυκος λίθον ἐν ᾠδῇ διεξῆλθε τὴν ἐλεγείαν, ἧς ἐστιν ἀρχή·

Αὐτὸς κῆρυξ ἦλθον ἀφ' ἱμερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος,
κόσμον ἐπέων ᾠδὴν ἀντ' ἀγορῆς θέμενος.

3 τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα Σαλαμὶς ἐπιγέγραπται καὶ στίχων ἑκατόν ἐστι, χαριέντως πάνυ πεποιημένον. τότε δὲ ᾀσθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ Σόλωνος ἀρξαμένων ἐπαινεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τοῖς πολίταις ἐγκελευομένου καὶ παρορμῶντος πεισθῆναι τῷ λέγοντι, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον αὖθις ἥπτοντο τοῦ πολέμου, προστησάμενοι τὸν Σόλωνα.

4 Τὰ μὲν οὖν δημώδη τῶν λεγομένων τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν, ὅτι πλεύσας ἐπὶ Κωλιάδα μετὰ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτόθι πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας τῇ Δήμητρι τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν ἐπιτελούσας, ἔπεμψεν ἄνδρα πιστὸν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα προσποιούμενον αὐτόμολον εἶναι, κελεύοντα τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς, εἰ βούλονται τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πρώτας λαβεῖν γυναῖκας, ἐπὶ Κωλιάδα μετ' αὐτοῦ
5 πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. ὡς δὲ πεισθέντες οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐξέπεμψαν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ κατεῖδεν ὁ Σόλων τὸ πλοῖον ἐλαυνόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἐκποδὼν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων τοὺς μηδέπω γενειῶντας ἐνδύμασι καὶ μίτραις καὶ ὑποδήμασι τοῖς ἐκείνων σκευασαμένους καὶ λαβόντας ἐγχειρίδια κρυπτὰ παίζειν καὶ χορεύειν προσέταξε πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, μέχρις ἂν ἀποβῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ γένηται τὸ
6 πλοῖον ὑποχείριον. οὕτω δὴ τούτων πραττομένων,

collected there, he got upon the herald's stone and recited the poem which begins :—

"Behold in me a herald come from lovely Salamis,
With a song in ordered verse instead of a harangue." [1]

This poem is entitled "Salamis," and contains a hundred very graceful verses. When Solon had sung it, his friends began to praise him, and Peisistratus in particular urged and incited the citizens to obey his words. They therefore repealed the law and renewed the war, putting Solon in command of it.

The popular account of his campaign is as follows. Having sailed to Cape Colias with Peisistratus, he found all the women of the city there, performing the customary sacrifice to Demeter. He therefore sent a trusty man to Salamis, who pretended to be a deserter, and bade the Megarians, if they wished to capture the principal women of Athens, to sail to Colias with him as fast as they could. The Megarians were persuaded by him, and sent off some men in his ship. But when Solon saw the vessel sailing back from the island, he ordered the women to withdraw, and directed those of the younger men who were still beardless, arraying themselves in the garments, head-bands, and sandals which the women had worn, and carrying concealed daggers, to sport and dance on the sea shore until the enemy had disembarked and the vessel was in their power. This being done as he directed, the

[1] Only six more verses are preserved (Fragments 1–3, Bergk). They contain reproaches of the Athenians for abandoning Salamis, and an exhortation to go and fight for it.

ὑπαχθέντες οἱ Μεγαρεῖς τῇ ὄψει καὶ προσμίξαντες ἐγγύς, ἐξεπήδων ὡς ἐπὶ γυναῖκας, ἀμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,[1] ὥστε μηδένα διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπιπλεύσαντας εὐθὺς ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

IX. Ἄλλοι δέ φασιν οὐ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον γενέσθαι τὴν κατάληψιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν χρῆσαι·

Ἀρχηγοὺς χώρας θυσίαις ἥρωας ἐνοίκους
ἵλασο, τοὺς κόλποις Ἀσωπιὰς ἀμφικαλύπτει,
οἳ φθίμενοι δέρκονται ἐς ἠέλιον δύνοντα·

τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα διαπλεύσαντα νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐντεμεῖν σφάγια Περιφήμῳ καὶ Κυχρεῖ
2 τοῖς ἥρωσιν. εἶτα παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐθελοντὰς λαβεῖν πεντακοσίους, δόγματος γενομένου τούτους, ἂν κατασχῶσι τὴν νῆσον, κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος. ἀναχθέντα δὲ συχναῖς ἁλιάσιν ἅμα τριακοντόρου συμπαραπλεούσης ὑφορμίσασθαι τῇ Σαλαμῖνι κατὰ χηλήν τινα πρὸς τὴν Εὔβοιαν[2] ἀποβλέπουσαν. πυθομένους δὲ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Μεγαρεῖς ἔκ τινος φήμης οὐδὲν βέβαιον, αὐτοὺς μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅπλα θορυβουμένους βαδίζειν, ναῦν δ' ἀποστεῖλαι κατασκεψομένην τῶν πολε-
3 μίων· ἧς ἐγγὺς ἐλθούσης κρατῆσαι τὸν Σόλωνα καὶ καθεῖρξαι τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς. ἐμβιβάσαι δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς κρατίστους κελεύσαντα πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχηται μάλιστα κρύπτοντας

[1] ἀλλήλους Sintenis and Bekker assume here a lacuna in the text, where such details were given as are found in Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 20.

[2] Εὔβοιαν Sintenis suggests Νίσαιαν (cf. xii. 3).

Megarians were lured on by what they saw, beached their vessel, and leapt out to attack women, as they supposed, vying with one another in speed. The result was that not a man of them escaped, but all were slain, and the Athenians at once set sail and took possession of the island.

IX. Others, however, say that the island was not taken in this way, but that Solon first received thi oracle from the god at Delphi : —

"The tutelary heroes of the land where once they lived, with sacred rites
Propitiate, whom the Asopian plain now hides in its bosom ;
There they lie buried with their faces toward the setting sun."

Thereupon Solon sailed by night to the island and made sacrifices to the heroes Periphemus and Cychreus. Then he took five hundred Athenian volunteers, a decree having been made that these should be supreme in the government of the island if they took it, and setting sail with a number of fishing boats convoyed by a thirty-oared ship, he anchored off the island of Salamis, at a point of land looking towards Euboea. But the Megarians in the city of Salamis, hearing only an uncertain report of what had happened, armed themselves hurriedly and set out for the place, at the same time dispatching a ship to spy out the enemy. This ship came near and was captured by Solon, who put her crew in confinement. Then he manned her with the best of his Athenians, and ordered them to sail against the city, keeping themselves as much

ἑαυτούς· ἅμα δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἀναλαβόντα πεζῇ συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι· καὶ τῆς μάχης ἔτι συνεστώσης φθάσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς καταλαβόντας τὴν πόλιν.

4 Ἔοικε δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ δρώμενα μαρτυρεῖν. ναῦς γάρ τις Ἀττικὴ προσέπλει σιωπῇ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα κραυγῇ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ προσφερομένων εἷς ἀνὴρ ἔνοπλος ἐξαλλόμενος μετὰ βοῆς ἔθει πρὸς ἄκρον τὸ Σκιράδιον[1] ἐκ γῆς προσφερομένοις. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἱδρυσαμένου Σόλωνος. ἐνίκησε γὰρ τοὺς Μεγαρέας, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ διεφθάρησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, πάντας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκεν.

X. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐπιμενόντων πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ δρῶντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πάσχοντες, ἐποιήσαντο Λακεδαιμονίους διαλλακτὰς καὶ δικαστάς. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῷ Σόλωνι συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Ὁμήρου δόξαν· ἐμβαλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔπος εἰς νεῶν κατάλογον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγνῶναι·

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.

2 αὐτοὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα μὲν οἴονται φλυαρίαν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Σόλωνά φασιν ἀποδεῖξαι τοῖς δικασταῖς ὅτι Φιλαῖος καὶ Εὐρυσάκης, Αἴαντος υἱοί, Ἀθήνησι πολιτείας μεταλαβόντες παρέ-

[1] Σκιράδιον after this word Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text.

concealed as was feasible. At the same time, with the rest of his Athenians, he engaged the Megarians on land, and while the fight was still raging, the crew of the ship succeeded in capturing the city.

Now there seems to be a confirmation of this story in certain ceremonies afterwards established. Namely, an Attic ship would approach the island in silence at first, then its crew would make an onset with shouts and cries, and one man in full armour would leap out with a shout of triumph and run to the promontory of Sciradium to inform those who were attacking by land. Hard by that place is the temple of Enyalius[1] which was erected by Solon. For he conquered the Megarians, and all who were not slain in the battle were released on parole.

X. Notwithstanding all this, the Megarians persisted in their opposition, and both sides inflicted and suffered many injuries in the war, so that finally they made the Lacedaemonians arbiters and judges of the strife. Accordingly, most writers say that the fame of Homer favoured the contention of Solon; for after himself inserting a verse into the Catalogue of Ships, he read the passage at the trial thus:—

"Ajax from Salamis brought twelve ships,
And bringing, stationed them near the Athenian hosts."[2]

The Athenians themselves, however, think this an idle tale, and say that Solon proved to the judges that Philaeus and Eurysaces, the sons of Ajax, became citizens of Athens, made over their island

[1] Ares. [2] *Iliad*, ii. 557 f.

δοσαν τὴν νῆσον αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατῴκησαν ὁ μὲν ἐν Βραυρῶνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐν Μελίτῃ· καὶ δῆμον ἐπώνυμον Φιλαίου τῶν Φιλαϊδῶν ἔχουσιν,
3 ὅθεν ἦν Πεισίστρατος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξελέγξαι τοὺς Μεγαρέας βουλόμενον ἰσχυρίσασθαι περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς οὐχ ὃν τρόπον ἐκεῖνοι θάπτουσι κεκηδευμένων, ἀλλ' ὃν αὐτοί. θάπτουσι δὲ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἕω τοὺς νεκροὺς στρέφοντες, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. Ἡρέας δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐνιστάμενος λέγει καὶ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν τετραμμένα τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν τιθέναι· καὶ μεῖζον ἔτι τούτου, μίαν ἕκαστον Ἀθηναίων ἔχειν θήκην, Μεγαρέων δὲ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρας ἐν
4 μιᾷ κεῖσθαι. τῷ μέντοι Σόλωνι καὶ Πυθικούς τινας βοηθῆσαι λέγουσι χρησμούς, ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς Ἰαονίαν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα προσηγόρευσε. ταύτην τὴν δίκην ἐδίκασαν Σπαρτιατῶν πέντε ἄνδρες, Κριτολαΐδας, Ἀμομφάρετος, Ὑψηχίδας, Ἀναξίλας, Κλεομένης.

XI. Ἤδη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἔνδοξος ἦν ὁ Σόλων καὶ μέγας. ἐθαυμάσθη δὲ καὶ διεβοήθη μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἰπὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὡς χρὴ βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν Κιρραίους ὑβρίζοντας εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον, ἀλλὰ προσαμύνειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ Δελφοῖς. πεισθέντες γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμησαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες, ὡς ἄλλοι τε μαρτυροῦσι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ

to them, and took up their residence in Attica, one at Brauron, and the other at Melité; and they have a township named after Philaeus, namely Philaïdae, to which Peisistratus belonged. They say, too, that Solon, wishing to refute the claims of the Megarians still further, made the point that the dead on the island of Salamis were not buried after the Megarian, but after the Athenian fashion. For the Megarians bury their dead facing the east, but the Athenians facing the west. However, Hereas the Megarian denies this, and says that the Megarians also turn the faces of their dead to the west. And what is still more important than this, he says that the Athenians use one tomb for each body, whereas the Megarians (like the early inhabitants of Salamis) place three or four bodies in one tomb. However, they say that Solon was further supported by sundry Pythian oracles, in which the god spoke of Salamis as Ionian. This case was decided by five Spartans, Critolaïdas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes.

XI. These events, then, presently made Solon famous and powerful. But he was even more admired and celebrated among the Greeks for what he said in behalf of the temple at Delphi, namely, that the Greeks must come to its relief, and not suffer the people of Cirrha to outrage the oracle, but aid the Delphians in maintaining the honour of the god. For it was by his persuasion that the Amphictyons[1] undertook the war, as Aristotle, among others, testifies, in his list of the victors at the Pythian games,

[1] The twelve peoples who had as common sanctuaries the temple of Apollo at Delphi and the temple of Demeter at Anthela, near Thermopylae.

Σόλωνι τὴν γνώμην ἀνατιθείς. οὐ μέντοι στρα- 8
2 τηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀπεδείχθη τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς λέγειν φησὶν Ἑρμιππος Εὐάνθη τὸν Σάμιον· οὔτε γὰρ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ τοῦτ' εἴρηκεν, ἔν τε τοῖς Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀλκμαίων, οὐ Σόλων, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀναγέγραπται.

XII. Τὸ δὲ Κυλώνειον ἄγος ἤδη μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ διετάραττε τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ οὗ τοὺς συνωμότας τοῦ Κύλωνος ἱκετεύοντας τὴν θεὸν Μεγακλῆς ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ δίκῃ κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν· ἐξάψαντας δὲ τοῦ ἕδους κρόκην κλωστὴν καὶ ταύτης ἐχομένους, ὡς ἐγένοντο περὶ τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς καταβαίνοντες, αὐτομάτως τῆς κρόκης ῥαγείσης, ὥρμησε συλλαμβάνειν ὁ Μεγακλῆς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες, ὡς τῆς θεοῦ τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀπολεγομένης· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω κατέλευσαν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς προσφυγόντες ἀπεσφάγησαν· μόνοι δ' ἀφείθησαν οἱ τὰς γυναῖ-
2 κας αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσαντες. ἐκ τούτου δὲ κληθέντες ἐναγεῖς ἐμισοῦντο· καὶ τῶν Κυλωνείων οἱ περιγενόμενοι πάλιν ἦσαν ἰσχυροί, καὶ στασιάζοντες ἀεὶ διετέλουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως ἀκμὴν λαβούσης μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαστάντος, ἤδη δόξαν ἔχων ὁ Σόλων παρῆλθεν εἰς μέσον ἅμα τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ δεόμενος καὶ διδάσκων ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς λεγομένους δίκην

where he ascribes the measure to Solon. He was not, however, appointed general for this war, as Evanthes the Samian says (according to Hermippus), for Aeschines the orator makes no such statement,[1] and in the records of Delphi it is stated that Alcmaeon, and not Solon, commanded the Athenians.

XII. Now the Cylonian pollution had for a long time agitated the city, ever since Megacles the archon had persuaded Cylon and his fellow-conspirators, who had taken sanctuary in the temple of Athena, to come down and stand their trial.[2] They fastened a braided thread to the image of the goddess and kept hold of it, but when they reached the shrine of the Erinyes on their way down, the thread broke of its own accord, upon which Megacles and his fellow-archons rushed to seize them, on the plea that the goddess refused them the rights of suppliants. Those who were outside of sacred precincts were stoned to death, and those who took refuge at the altars were slaughtered there; only those were spared who made supplication to the wives of the archons. Therefore the archons were called polluted men and were held in execration. The survivors of the followers of Cylon also recovered strength, and were forever at variance with the descendants of Megacles. At this particular time the quarrel was at its height and the people divided between the two factions. Solon, therefore, being now in high repute, interposed between them, along with the noblest of the Athenians, and by his entreaties and injunctions persuaded the men who were held to be polluted to submit to a trial, and to

[1] In his speech *Against Ctesiphon*, § 109.
[2] About 636 B.C. Cf. Herod. v. 71; Thuc. i. 126.

ὑποσχεῖν καὶ κριθῆναι τριακοσίων ἀριστίνδην
3 δικαζόντων. Μύρωνος δὲ τοῦ Φλυέως κατηγοροῦντος ἑάλωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ ζῶντες· τῶν δ' ἀποθανόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνορύξαντες ἐξέρριψαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὅρους. ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ταραχαῖς καὶ Μεγαρέων συνεπιθεμένων ἀπέβαλόν τε Νίσαιαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐξέπεσον αὖθις. καὶ φόβοι τινὲς ἐκ δεισιδαιμονίας ἅμα καὶ φάσματα κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν, οἵ τε μάντεις ἄγη καὶ μιασμοὺς δεομένους καθαρμῶν προφαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἠγόρευον.

4 Οὕτω δὴ μετάπεμπτος αὐτοῖς ἦκεν ἐκ Κρήτης Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ Φαίστιος, ὃν ἕβδομον ἐν τοῖς σοφοῖς καταριθμοῦσιν ἔνιοι τῶν οὐ προσιεμένων τὸν Περίανδρον. ἐδόκει δέ τις εἶναι θεοφιλὴς καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν, διὸ καὶ παῖδα νύμφης ὄνομα Βάλτης καὶ Κούρητα νέον αὐτὸν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι προσηγόρευον. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι χρησάμενος φίλῳ πολλὰ προσυπειργάσατο καὶ προω-
5 δοποίησεν αὐτῷ τῆς νομοθεσίας. καὶ γὰρ εὐσταλεῖς ἐποίησε τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ περὶ τὰ πένθη πραοτέρους, θυσίας τινὰς εὐθὺς ἀναμίξας πρὸς τὰ κήδη, καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν ἀφελὼν καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ᾧ συνείχοντο πρότερον αἱ πλεῖσται γυναῖκες. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἱλασμοῖς τισι καὶ καθαρμοῖς καὶ ἱδρύσεσι κατοργιάσας καὶ καθοσιώ-

abide by the decision of three hundred jurors selected from the nobility. Myron of Phlya conducted the prosecution, and the family of Megacles was found guilty. Those who were alive were banished, and the bodies of the dead were dug up and cast forth beyond the borders of the country. During these disturbances the Megarians also attacked the Athenians, who lost Nisaea, and were driven out of Salamis once more. The city was also visited with superstitious fears and strange appearances, and the seers declared that their sacrifices indicated pollutions and defilements which demanded expiation.

Under these circumstances they summoned to their aid from Crete Epimenides of Phaestus, who is reckoned as the seventh Wise Man by some of those who refuse Periander a place in the list.[1] He was reputed to be a man beloved of the gods, and endowed with a mystical and heaven-sent wisdom in religious matters. Therefore the men of his time said that he was the son of a nymph named Balte, and called him a new Cures.[2] On coming to Athens he made Solon his friend, assisted him in many ways, and paved the way for his legislation. For he made the Athenians decorous and careful in their religious services, and milder in their rites of mourning, by attaching certain sacrifices immediately to their funeral ceremonies, and by taking away the harsh and barbaric practices in which their women had usually indulged up to that time. Most important of all, by sundry rites of propitiation and purification, and by sacred foundations, he hallowed and conse-

[1] See note on iii. 5, and cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, i.

[2] The Curetes were Cretan priests of Idaean Zeus, who took their name from the demi-gods to whose care Rhea was said to have committed the infant Zeus.

σας τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον τοῦ δικαίου καὶ μᾶλλον εὐπειθῆ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν κατέστησε. λέγεται δὲ τὴν Μουνυχίαν ἰδὼν καὶ καταμαθὼν πολὺν χρόνον, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς τυφλόν
6 ἐστι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄνθρωπος· ἐκφαγεῖν γὰρ ἂν Ἀθηναίους τοῖς αὑτῶν ὀδοῦσιν, εἰ προήδεσαν ὅσα τὴν πόλιν ἀνιάσει τὸ χωρίον· ὅμοιον δέ τι καὶ Θαλῆν εἰκάσαι λέγουσι· κελεῦσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Μιλησίας φαύλῳ καὶ παρορωμένῳ τελευτήσαντα θεῖναι, προειπὼν ὡς ἀγορά ποτε τοῦτο Μιλησίων ἔσται τὸ χωρίον. Ἐπιμενίδης μὲν οὖν μάλιστα θαυμασθείς, καὶ χρήματα διδόντων πολλὰ καὶ τιμὰς μεγάλας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲν ἢ θαλλὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας αἰτησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἀπῆλθεν.

XIII. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Κυλωνείου πεπαυμένης ταραχῆς καὶ μεθεστώτων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῶν ἐναγῶν, τὴν παλαιὰν αὖθις στάσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας ἐστασίαζον, ὅσας ἡ χώρα διαφορὰς εἶχεν, εἰς τοσαῦτα μέρη τῆς πόλεως διαστάσης. ἦν γὰρ τὸ μὲν τῶν Διακρίων γένος δημοκρατικώτατον, ὀλιγαρχικώτατον δὲ τὸ τῶν Πεδιέων· τρίτοι δ' οἱ Πάραλοι μέσον τινὰ καὶ μεμιγμένον αἱρούμενοι πολιτείας τρόπον, ἐμποδὼν ἦσαν καὶ
2 διεκώλυον τοὺς ἑτέρους κρατῆσαι. τότε δὲ τῆς τῶν πενήτων πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀνωμαλίας ὥσπερ ἀκμὴν λαβούσης παντάπασιν ἐπισφαλῶς ἡ πόλις διέκειτο, καὶ μόνως ἂν ἐδόκει καταστῆναι καὶ

crated the city, and brought it to be observant of justice and more easily inclined to unanimity. It is said that when he had seen Munychia[1] and considered it for some time, he remarked to the bystanders that man was indeed blind to the future; for if the Athenians only knew what mischiefs the place would bring upon their city, they would devour it with their own teeth. A similar insight into futurity is ascribed to Thales. They say that he gave directions for his burial in an obscure and neglected quarter of the city's territory, predicting that it would one day be the market-place of Miletus. Well then, Epimenides was vastly admired by the Athenians, who offered him much money and large honours; but he asked for nothing more than a branch of the sacred olive-tree, with which he returned home.

XIII. But the Athenians, now that the Cylonian disturbance was over and the polluted persons banished, as described,[2] relapsed into their old disputes about the form of government, the city being divided into as many parties as there were diversities in its territory. The Hill-men favoured an extreme democracy; the Plain-men an extreme oligarchy; the Shore-men formed a third party,[3] which preferred an intermediate and mixed form of government, was opposed to the other two, and prevented either from gaining the ascendancy. At that time, too, the disparity between the rich and the poor had culminated, as it were, and the city was in an altogether perilous condition; it seemed as if the only

[1] The acropolis of the Peiraeus, strategically commanding not only that peninsula, but also Athens itself. It was often garrisoned by conquerors of Athens. [2] Chapter xii. 3.

[3] Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiii. 4.

παύσασθαι ταραττομένη τυραννίδος γενομένης. ἅπας μὲν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἦν ὑπόχρεως τῶν πλουσίων. ἢ γὰρ ἐγεώργουν ἐκείνοις ἕκτα τῶν γινομένων τελοῦντες, ἐκτημόριοι προσαγορευόμενοι καὶ θῆτες, ἢ χρέα λαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀγώγιμοι τοῖς δανείζουσιν ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ δουλεύοντες, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην πιπρασκόμενοι.
3 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἰδίους ἠναγκάζοντο πωλεῖν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ νόμος ἐκώλυε) καὶ τὴν πόλιν φεύγειν διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν δανειστῶν. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατοι συνίσταντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἀλλήλους μὴ περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἑλομένους ἕνα προστάτην ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς ὑπερημέρους καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀναδάσασθαι καὶ ὅλως μεταστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν.

XIV. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ φρονιμώτατοι συνορῶντες τὸν Σόλωνα μόνον μάλιστα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκτὸς ὄντα, καὶ μήτε τοῖς πλουσίοις κοινωνοῦντα τῆς ἀδικίας μήτε ταῖς τῶν πενήτων ἀνάγκαις ἐνεχόμενον, ἐδέοντο τοῖς κοινοῖς προσελθεῖν καὶ καταπαῦσαι τὰς διαφοράς. καίτοι Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖ τὸν Σόλωνα, χρησάμενον ἀπάτῃ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, ὑποσχέσθαι κρύφα τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις τὴν νέμησιν, τοῖς δὲ χρηματικοῖς βεβαίωσιν τῶν συμβολαίων.
2 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Σόλων ὀκνῶν φησι τὸ πρῶτον ἅψασθαι τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ δεδοικὼς τῶν μὲν τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. ᾑρέθη δὲ ἄρχων μετὰ Φιλόμβροτον ὁμοῦ καὶ διαλλακτὴς καὶ νομοθέτης, δεξαμένων προθύμως αὐτὸν ὡς μὲν

way to settle its disorders and stop its turmoils was to establish a tyranny. All the common people were in debt to the rich. For they either tilled their lands for them, paying them a sixth of the increase (whence they were called Hectemorioi and Thetes), or else they pledged their persons for debts and could be seized by their creditors, some becoming slaves at home, and others being sold into foreign countries. Many, too, were forced to sell their own children (for there was no law against it), or go into exile, because of the cruelty of the money-lenders. But the most and sturdiest of them began to band together and exhort one another not to submit to their wrongs, but to choose a trusty man as their leader, set free the condemned debtors, divide the land anew, and make an entire change in the form of government.

XIV. At this point, the wisest of the Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon. They saw that he was the one man least implicated in the errors of the time; that he was neither associated with the rich in their injustice, nor involved in the necessities of the poor. They therefore besought him to come forward publicly and put an end to the prevailing dissensions. And yet Phanias the Lesbian writes that Solon of his own accord played a trick upon both parties in order to save the city, and secretly promised to the poor the distribution of land which they desired, and to the rich, validation of their securities. But Solon himself says that he entered public life reluctantly, and fearing one party's greed and the other party's arrogance.[1] However, he was chosen archon [2] to succeed Philombrotus, and made mediator and legislator for the crisis, the rich

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, v. 3. [2] 594 B.C.

εὔπορον τῶν πλουσίων, ὡς δὲ χρηστὸν τῶν πενήτων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ φωνή τις αὐτοῦ περιφερομένη πρότερον, εἰπόντος ὡς τὸ ἴσον πόλεμον οὐ ποιεῖ, καὶ τοῖς κτηματικοῖς ἀρέσκειν καὶ τοῖς ἀκτήμοσι, τῶν μὲν ἀξίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ, τῶν δὲ μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ
3 τὸ ἴσον ἕξειν προσδοκώντων· ὅθεν ἐπ' ἐλπίδος μεγάλης ἑκατέρων γενομένων οἱ προϊστάμενοι προσέκειντο τῷ Σόλωνι τυραννίδα προξενοῦντες καὶ ἀναπείθοντες εὐτολμότερον ἅψασθαι τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῆ γενόμενον. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν διὰ μέσου πολιτῶν, τὴν ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ νόμου μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες ἐργώδη καὶ χαλεπὴν οὖσαν, οὐκ ἔφευγον ἕνα τὸν δικαιότατον καὶ φρονιμώτα-
4 τον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι καὶ μαντείαν γενέσθαι τῷ Σόλωνι Πυθοῖ τοιαύτην·

Ἧσο μέσην κατὰ νῆα κυβερνητήριον ἔργον
εὐθύνων· πολλοί τοι Ἀθηναίων ἐπίκουροι.

μάλιστα δὲ οἱ συνήθεις ἐκάκιζον εἰ διὰ τοὔνομα δυσωπεῖται τὴν μοναρχίαν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρετῇ τοῦ λαβόντος εὐθὺς ἂν βασιλείαν γενομένην, καὶ γεγενημένην πρότερον μὲν Εὐβοεῦσι Τυννώνδαν, νῦν δὲ Μιτυληναίοις Πιττακὸν ῥηρημένοις τύραννον.

5 Τούτων οὐδὲν ἐξέκρουσε τὸν Σόλωνα τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν, ὡς λέγεται, καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρίον, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ἀπόβασιν, πρὸς δὲ Φῶκον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι γράφων·

accepting him readily because he was well-to-do, and the poor because he was honest. It is also said that a certain utterance of his which was current before his election, to the effect that equality bred no war, pleased both the men of substance and those who had none; the former expecting to have equality based on worth and excellence, the latter on measure and count. Therefore both parties were in high hopes, and their chief men persistently recommended a tyranny to Solon, and tried to persuade him to seize the city all the more confidently now that he had it completely in his power. Many citizens, too, who belonged to neither party, seeing that it would be a laborious and difficult matter to effect a change by means of argument and law, were not reluctant to have one man, the justest and wisest of all, put at the head of the state. Furthermore, some say that Solon got an oracle at Pytho which ran as follows:—

"Take thy seat amidships, the pilot's task is thine;
Perform it; many in Athens are thine allies."

And above all, his familiar friends chid him for being averse to absolute power because of the name of tyranny, as if the virtues of him who seized it would not at once make it a lawful sovereignty. Euboea (they argued) had formerly found this true of Tynnondas, and so had the Mitylenaeans, now that they had chosen Pittacus to be their tyrant.

None of these things shook Solon from his resolution. To his friends he said, as we are told, that a tyranny was a lovely place, but there was no way down from it. And in his poems he writes to Phocus:—

Εἰ δὲ γῆς (φησίν) ἐφεισάμην 8
πατρίδος, τυραννίδος δὲ καὶ βίης ἀμειλίχου
οὐ καθηψάμην μιάνας καὶ καταισχύνας κλέος,
οὐδὲν αἰδεῦμαι· πλέον γὰρ ὧδε νικήσειν δοκέω
πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

ὅθεν εὔδηλον ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας μεγά-
6 λην δόξαν εἶχεν. ἃ δὲ φυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν τυραν-
νίδα πολλοὶ καταγελῶντες ἔλεγον, γέγραφεν
οὕτως·

Οὐκ ἔφυ Σόλων βαθύφρων οὐδὲ βουλήεις ἀνήρ·
ἐσθλὰ γὰρ θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐδέξατο.
περιβαλὼν δ' ἄγραν ἀγασθεὶς οὐκ ἐπέσπασεν
μέγα
δίκτυον, θυμοῦ θ' ἁμαρτῇ καὶ φρενῶν ἀπο-
σφαλείς.
ἤθελον[1] γάρ κεν κρατήσας, πλοῦτον ἄφθονον
λαβὼν
καὶ τυραννεύσας Ἀθηνῶν μοῦνον ἡμέραν μίαν,
ἀσκὸς[1] ὕστερον δεδάρθαι κἀπιτετρῖφθαι γένος.

XV. Ταῦτα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ φαύλους περὶ
αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε λέγοντας. οὐ μὴν ἀπωσάμενός
γε τὴν τυραννίδα τὸν πρᾳότατον ἐχρήσατο τρόπον
τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ μαλακῶς οὐδ' ὑπείκων τοῖς
δυναμένοις οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν ἑλομένων ἔθετο

[1] ἤθελον, ἀσκὸς Bergk, with the better MSS. : ἤθελεν, αὐτός (*he* (Solon) *would have been willing ; himself*).

"And if," he says, "I spared my land,
My native land, and unto tyranny and violence implacable
Did not set hand, polluting and disgracing my fair fame,
I'm not ashamed; in this way rather shall my name be set above
That of all other men." [1]

From this it is clear that even before his legislation he was in high repute. And as for the ridicule which many heaped upon him for refusing the tyranny, he has written as follows;—

"Solon was a shallow thinker and a man of counsel void;
When the gods would give him blessings, of his own will he refused.
When his net was full of fish, amazed, he would not pull it in,
All for lack of spirit, and because he was bereft of sense.
I had certainly been willing, for the power, and boundless wealth,
And to be tyrant over Athens no more than a single day,
Then to have a pouch flayed from me, and my lineage blotted out." [2]

XV. Thus he represents the multitude and men of low degree as speaking of him. However, though he rejected the tyranny, he did not administer affairs in the mildest possible manner, nor in the enactment of his laws did he show a feeble spirit, nor make concessions to the powerful, nor consult the pleasure

[1] Fragment 32 (Bergk). [2] Fragment 33 (Bergk).

τοὺς νόμους· ἀλλ' ἦ μὲν ἄριστον ἦν, οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν
ἰατρείαν οὐδὲ καινοτομίαν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ συγχέας
παντάπασι καὶ ταράξας τὴν πόλιν ἀσθενέστερος
γένηται τοῦ καταστῆσαι πάλιν καὶ συναρμό-
2 σασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον· ἃ δὲ καὶ λέγων ἤλπιζε
πειθομένοις καὶ προσάγων ἀνάγκην ὑπομένουσι
χρήσασθαι, ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός,

Ὁμοῦ βίην τε καὶ δίκην συναρμόσας.[1]

ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ τοὺς ἀρίστους Ἀθη-
ναίοις νόμους ἔγραψεν, "Ὧν ἄν," ἔφη, "προσεδέ-
ξαντο τοὺς ἀρίστους."

Ἃ δ' οὖν οἱ νεώτεροι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγουσι
τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων δυσχερείας ὀνόμασι χρηστοῖς
καὶ φιλανθρώποις ἐπικαλύπτοντας ἀστείως ὑπο-
3 κορίζεσθαι, τὰς μὲν πόρνας ἑταίρας, τοὺς δὲ φό-
ρους συντάξεις, φυλακὰς δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς τῶν
πόλεων, οἴκημα δὲ τὸ δεσμωτήριον καλοῦντας,
πρώτου Σόλωνος ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, σόφισμα τὴν τῶν
χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν σεισάχθειαν ὀνομάσαντος. τοῦτο
γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρῶτον πολίτευμα, γράψας τὰ
μὲν ὑπάρχοντα τῶν χρεῶν ἀνεῖσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ
4 λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μηδένα δανείζειν. καίτοι
τινὲς ἔγραψαν, ὧν ἐστὶν Ἀνδροτίων, οὐκ ἀποκοπὴ
χρεῶν, ἀλλὰ τόκων μετριότητι κουφισθέντας ἀγα-
πῆσαι τοὺς πένητας, καὶ σεισάχθειαν ὀνομάσαι
τὸ φιλανθρώπευμα τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἅμα τούτῳ
γενομένην τῶν τε μέτρων ἐπαύξησιν καὶ τοῦ νομί-
σματος τιμήν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἐποίησε δραχμῶν τὴν

[1] Fragment 36, verse 14 (Bergk); verse 16 of the longer fragment now found in Aristotle's *Const. of Athens*, chapter xii. 4, where we have κράτει νόμου, βίην τε κτλ.

of his electors. Nay, where a condition was as good as it could well be, he applied no remedy, and introduced no innovation, fearing lest, after utterly confusing and confounding the city, he should be too weak to establish it again and recompose it for the best. But those things wherein he hoped to find them open to persuasion or submissive to compulsion, these he did,

"Combining both force and justice together,"

as he says himself. Therefore when he was afterwards asked if he had enacted the best laws for the Athenians, he replied, "The best they would receive."

Now later writers observe that the ancient Athenians used to cover up the ugliness of things with auspicious and kindly terms, giving them polite and endearing names. Thus they called harlots "companions," taxes "contributions," the garrison of a city its "guard," and the prison a "chamber." But Solon was the first, it would seem, to use this device, when he called his cancelling of debts a "disburdenment." For the first of his public measures was an enactment that existing debts should be remitted, and that in future no one should lend money on the person of a borrower. Some writers, however, and Androtion is one of them, affirm that the poor were relieved not by a cancelling of debts, but by a reduction of the interest upon them, and showed their satisfaction by giving the name of "disburdenment" to this act of humanity, and to the augmentation of measures and the purchasing power of money which accompanied it.[1] For

[1] See Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, x. 1, with Sandys' note.

μνᾶν πρότερον ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν οὖσαν, ὥστ' ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἴσον, δυνάμει δ' ἔλαττον ἀποδιδόντων, ὠφελεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐκτίνοντας μεγάλα, μηδὲν δὲ βλάπτεσθαι τοὺς κομιζομένους. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι πάντων ὁμοῦ φασι τῶν συμβολαίων ἀναίρεσιν γενέσθαι τὴν σεισάχθειαν, καὶ τούτοις συνᾴδει μᾶλλον τὰ ποιήματα. Σεμνύνεται γὰρ Σόλων ἐν τούτοις ὅτι τῆς τε προϋποκειμένης γῆς

"Ορους ἀνεῖλε πολλαχῆ πεπηγότας·
πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρα·

καὶ τῶν ἀγωγίμων πρὸς ἀργύριον γεγονότων πολιτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀνήγαγεν ἀπὸ ξένης,

γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν
ἱέντας, ὡς ἂν πολλαχῆ πλανωμένους·
τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα
ἔχοντας

ἐλευθέρους φησὶ ποιῆσαι.

6 Πρᾶγμα δ' αὐτῷ συμπεσεῖν λέγεται πάντων ἀνιαρότατον ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης. ὡς γὰρ ὥρμησεν ἀνιέναι τὰ χρέα καὶ λόγους ἁρμόττοντας ἐζήτει καὶ πρέπουσαν ἀρχήν, ἐκοινώσατο τῶν φίλων οἷς μάλιστα πιστεύων καὶ χρώμενος ἐτύγχανε, τοῖς περὶ Κόνωνα καὶ Κλεινίαν καὶ Ἱππόνικον, ὅτι γῆν μὲν οὐ μέλλει κινεῖν, χρεῶν δὲ ποιεῖν ἀποκοπὰς ἔγνωκεν. οἱ δὲ προλαβόντες 8
εὐθὺς καὶ φθάσαντες ἐδανείσαντο συχνὸν ἀργύριον

he made the mina to consist of a hundred drachmas, which before had contained only seventy-three, so that by paying the same amount of money, but money of a lesser value, those who had debts to discharge were greatly benefited, and those who accepted such payments were no losers. But most writers agree that the "disburdenment" was a removal of all debt, and with such the poems of Solon are more in accord. For in these he proudly boasts that from the mortgaged lands

"He took away the record-stones that everywhere were planted;
Before, Earth was in bondage, now she is free."[1]

And of the citizens whose persons had been seized for debt, some he brought back from foreign lands,

"uttering no longer Attic speech,
So long and far their wretched wanderings;
And some who here at home in shameful servitude
Were held"[2]

he says he set free.

This undertaking is said to have involved him in the most vexatious experience of his life. For when he had set out to abolish debts, and was trying to find fitting arguments and a suitable occasion for the step, he told some of his most trusted and intimate friends, namely, Conon, Cleinias, and Hipponicus, that he was not going to meddle with the land, but had determined to cancel debts. They immediately took advantage of this confidence and anticipated

[1] Fragment 36, verses 4 f. (Bergk), with adaptation from the first person; verses 6 f. in Aristotle's citation.

[2] Fragment 36, verses 9–12 (Bergk); verses 11–14 in Aristotle.

παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ μεγάλας συνεωνήσαντο
7 χώρας. εἶτα τοῦ δόγματος ἐξενεχθέντος τὰ μὲν κτήματα καρπούμενοι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα τοῖς δανείσασιν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντες, εἰς αἰτίαν τὸν Σόλωνα μεγάλην καὶ διαβολήν, ὥσπερ οὐ συναδικούμενον, ἀλλὰ συναδικοῦντα, κατέστησαν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἐλύθη τὸ ἔγκλημα τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις· τοσαῦτα γὰρ εὑρέθη δανείζων, καὶ ταῦτα πρῶτος ἀφῆκε κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἔνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα λέγουσιν, ὧν καὶ Πολύζηλος ὁ Ῥόδιός ἐστι. τοὺς μέντοι φίλους αὐτοῦ χρεωκοπίδας καλοῦντες διετέλεσαν.

XVI. Ἤρεσε δ' οὐδετέροις, ἀλλ' ἐλύπησε καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἀνελὼν τὰ συμβόλαια, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοὺς πένητας, ὅτι γῆς ἀναδασμὸν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐλπίσασιν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ παντάπασιν, ὥσπερ ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ὁμαλοὺς τοῖς βίοις καὶ ἴσους κατέστησεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐνδέκατος ὢν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους καὶ βεβασιλευκὼς ἔτη πολλὰ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, ἀξίωμα μέγα καὶ φίλους καὶ δύναμιν οἷς ἔγνω καλῶς περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπηρετοῦσαν εἶχε, καὶ βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πειθοῖ χρησάμενος, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκοπῆναι, κατειργάσατο τὸ μέγιστον εἰς σωτηρίαν πόλεως καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, μηδένα πένητα μηδὲ πλούσιον εἶναι
2 τῶν πολιτῶν· Σόλων δὲ τούτου μὲν οὐκ ἐφίκετο τῇ πολιτείᾳ δημοτικὸς ὢν καὶ μέσος, ἐνδεέστερον δὲ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης δυνάμεως οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν,

Solon's decree by borrowing large sums from the wealthy and buying up great estates. Then, when the decree was published, they enjoyed the use of their properties, but refused to pay the moneys due their creditors. This brought Solon into great condemnation and odium, as if he had not been imposed upon with the rest, but were a party to the imposition.[1] However, this charge was at once dissipated by his well-known sacrifice of five talents. For it was found that he had lent so much, and he was the first to remit this debt in accordance with his law. Some say that the sum was fifteen talents, and among them is Polyzelus the Rhodian. But his friends were ever after called "chreocopidae," or *debt-cutters.*

XVI. He pleased neither party, however; the rich were vexed because he took away their securities for debt, and the poor still more, because he did not re-distribute the land, as they had expected, nor make all men equal and alike in their way of living, as Lycurgus did. But Lycurgus was eleventh in descent from Heracles, and had been king in Lacedaemon for many years. He therefore had great authority, many friends, and power to support his reforms in the commonwealth. He also employed force rather than persuasion, insomuch that he actually lost his eye thereby,[2] and most effectually guaranteed the safety and unanimity of the city by making all its citizens neither poor nor rich. Solon, on the contrary, could not secure this feature in his commonwealth, since he was a man of the people and of modest station; yet he in no wise

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, vi.
[2] Cf. *Lycurgus*, xi.

ὁρμώμενος ἐκ μόνου τοῦ βούλεσθαι καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολίτας. ὅτι δ' οὖν προσέκρουσε τοῖς πλείστοις ἕτερα προσδοκήσασιν, αὐτὸς εἴρηκε περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς

Χαῦνα μὲν τότ' ἐφράσαντο, νῦν δέ μοι χολούμενοι
λοξὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶσι πάντες ὥστε δήϊον.

καίτοι φησὶν ὡς, εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔσχε τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν,

Οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον, οὐδ' ἐπαύσατο,
πρὶν ἀνταράξας, πῖαρ ἐξεῖλεν γάλα.[1]

3 Ταχὺ μέντοι τοῦ συμφέροντος αἰσθόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν μέμψεις ἀφέντες ἔθυσάν τε κοινῇ, σεισάχθειαν τὴν θυσίαν ὀνομάσαντες, καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα τῆς πολιτείας διορθωτὴν καὶ νομοθέτην ἀπέδειξαν, οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ' οὐχί, πάντα δ' ὁμαλῶς ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἀρχάς, ἐκκλησίας, δικαστήρια, βουλάς, καὶ τίμημα τούτων ἑκάστου καὶ ἀριθμὸν καὶ καιρὸν ὁρίσαι, λύοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ καθεστώτων ὅ τι δοκοίη.

XVII. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς Δράκοντος νόμους ἀνεῖλε πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν ἅπαντας, διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. μία γὰρ ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασιν ὥριστο τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι

[1] So the verses are now more correctly found in Aristotle (*Const. of Athens*, xii. 5, Sandys).

acted short of his real power, relying as he did only on the wishes of the citizens and their confidence in him. Nevertheless he gave offence to the greater part of them, who expected different results, as he himself says of them in the lines :—

"Then they had extravagant thoughts of me, but now, incensed,
All look askance at me, as if I were their foe." [1]

And yet had any other man, he says, acquired the same power,

"He had not held the people down, nor made an end
Until he had confounded all, and skimmed the cream."

Soon, however, they perceived the advantages of his measure, ceased from their private fault-finding, and offered a public sacrifice, which they called Seisactheia, or *Disburdenment*. They also appointed Solon to reform the constitution and make new laws, laying no restrictions whatever upon him, but putting everything into his hands, magistracies, assemblies, courts-of-law, and councils. He was to fix the property qualification for each of these, their numbers, and their times of meeting, abrogating and maintaining existing institutions at his pleasure.

XVII. In the first place, then, he repealed the laws of Draco, all except those concerning homicide,[2] because they were too severe and their penalties too heavy. For one penalty was assigned to almost all transgressions, namely death, so that even those

[1] Fragment 34 (Bergk) ; now verses 4 f. of a fragment of nine verses cited by Aristotle (*Const. of Athens*, xii. 3).

[2] Cf. Aristotle, *op. cit.* vii. 1.

ζημία θάνατος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀργίας ἁλόντας ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ τοὺς λάχανα κλέψαντας ἢ ὀπώραν ὁμοίως κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ
2 ἀνδροφόνοις. διὸ Δημάδης ὕστερον εὐδοκίμησεν εἰπὼν ὅτι δι' αἵματος, οὐ διὰ μέλανος, τοὺς νόμους ὁ Δράκων ἔγραψεν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐκεῖνος, ὥς φασιν, ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί τοῖς πλείστοις ἀδικήμασι ζημίαν ἔταξε θάνατον, ἀπεκρίνατο τὰ μὲν μικρὰ ταύτης ἄξια νομίζειν, τοῖς δὲ μεγάλοις οὐκ ἔχειν μείζονα.

XVIII. Δεύτερον δὲ Σόλων τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας, ὥσπερ ἦσαν, τοῖς εὐπόροις ἀπολιπεῖν βουλόμενος, τὴν δ' ἄλλην μῖξαι πολιτείαν, ἧς ὁ δῆμος οὐ μετεῖχεν, ἔλαβε τὰ τιμήματα τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ξηροῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑγροῖς μέτρα πεντακόσια ποιοῦντας πρώτους ἔταξε καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προσηγόρευσε· δευτέρους δὲ τοὺς ἵππον τρέφειν δυναμένους ἢ μέτρα ποιεῖν
2 τριακόσια· καὶ τούτους ἱππάδα τελοῦντας ἐκάλουν· ζευγῖται δ' οἱ τοῦ τρίτου τιμήματος ὠνομάσθησαν, οἷς μέτρον ἦν συναμφοτέρων διακοσίων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐκαλοῦντο θῆτες, οἷς οὐδεμίαν ἄρχειν ἔδωκεν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τῷ συνεκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικάζειν μόνον μετεῖχον τῆς πολιτείας. ὃ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐδέν, ὕστερον δὲ παμμέγεθες ἐφάνη· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν διαφόρων ἐνέπιπτεν εἰς τοὺς δικαστάς. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἔταξε κρίνειν, ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων εἰς τὸ

convicted of idleness were put to death, and those who stole salad or fruit received the same punishment as those who committed sacrilege or murder. Therefore Demades, in later times, made a hit when he said that Draco's laws were written not with ink, but blood. And Draco himself, they say, being asked why he made death the penalty for most offences, replied that in his opinion the lesser ones deserved it, and for the greater ones no heavier penalty could be found.

XVIII. In the second place, wishing to leave all the magistracies in the hands of the well-to-do, as they were, but to give the common people a share in the rest of the government, of which they had hitherto been deprived, Solon made an appraisement of the property of the citizens.[1] Those who enjoyed a yearly increase of *five hundred measures* (wet and dry), he placed in the first class, and called them Pentakosiomedimnoi ; the second class was composed of those who were able to keep a horse, or had a yearly increase of three hundred measures, and they were called Hippada Telountes, since they *paid a Knight's tax* ; the members of the third class, whose yearly increase amounted to two hundred measures (wet and dry together), were called Zeugitai. All the rest were called Thetes ; they were not allowed to hold any office, but took part in the administration only as members of the assembly and as jurors. This last privilege seemed at first of no moment, but afterwards proved to be of the very highest importance, since most disputes finally came into the hands of these jurors. For even in cases which Solon assigned to the magistrates

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, vii. 3 f.

δικαστήριον ἐφέσεις ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις.
3 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀσαφέστερον γράψας καὶ πολλὰς ἀντιλήψεις ἔχοντας αὐξῆσαι τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύν· μὴ δυναμένους γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων διαλυθῆναι περὶ ὧν διεφέροντο, συνέβαινεν ἀεὶ δεῖσθαι δικαστῶν καὶ πᾶν ἄγειν ἀμφισβήτημα πρὸς ἐκείνους, τρόπον τινὰ τῶν
4 νόμων κυρίους ὄντας. ἐπισημαίνεται δ' αὐτὸς αὑτῷ τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὕτως·

Δήμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος ὅσσον ἀπαρκεῖ,
τιμῆς οὔτ' ἀφελὼν οὔτ' ἐπορεξάμενος·
οἳ δ' εἶχον δύναμιν καὶ χρήμασιν ἦσαν ἀγητοί,
καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν.
ἔστην δ' ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερὸν σάκος ἀμφοτέροισι·
νικᾶν δ' οὐκ εἴασ' οὐδετέρους ἀδίκως.

5 Ἔτι μέντοι μᾶλλον οἰόμενος δεῖν ἐπαρκεῖν τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἀσθενείᾳ, παντὶ λαβεῖν δίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ κακῶς πεπονθότος ἔδωκε. καὶ γὰρ πληγέντος ἑτέρου καὶ βιασθέντος ἢ βλαβέντος ἐξῆν τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι τὸν ἀδικοῦντα καὶ διώκειν, ὀρθῶς ἐθίζοντος τοῦ νομοθέτου τοὺς πολίτας ὥσπερ ἑνὸς μέρη σώματος[1] συναισθάνεσθαι καὶ συναλγεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ νόμῳ συμφωνοῦντα λόγον αὐτοῦ διαμνημονεύου-

[1] *μέρη σώματος* (or *σώματος μέρη*) Coraës and Bekker, after Xylander: *ἑνὸς μέρους*.

for decision, he allowed also an appeal to a popular court when any one desired it. Besides, it is said that his laws were obscurely and ambiguously worded on purpose to enhance the power of the popular courts. For since parties to a controversy could not get satisfaction from the laws, the result was that they always wanted jurors to decide it, and every dispute was laid before them, so that they were in a manner masters of the laws. And he himself claims the credit for this in the following words :— .

"For to the common people I gave so much power
as is sufficient,
Neither robbing them of dignity, nor giving them
too much;
And those who had power, and were marvellously
rich,
Even for these I contrived that they suffered no
harm.
I stood with a mighty shield in front of both classes,
And suffered neither of them to prevail unjustly." [1]

Moreover, thinking it his duty to make still further provision for the weakness of the multitude, he gave every citizen the privilege of entering suit in behalf of one who had suffered wrong. If a man was assaulted, and suffered violence or injury, it was the privilege of any one who had the ability and the inclination, to indict the wrong-doer and prosecute him. The law-giver in this way rightly accustomed the citizens, as members of one body, to feel and sympathize with one another's wrongs. And we are told of a saying of his which is consonant with this

[1] Fragment 5 (Bergk); Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xii. 1; cf. also ix. 1 f.

σιν. ἐρωτηθεὶς γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἥτις οἰκεῖται κάλλιστα τῶν πόλεων, "Ἐκείνη," εἶπεν, "ἐν ᾗ τῶν ἀδικουμένων οὐχ ἧττον οἱ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι προβάλλονται καὶ κολάζουσι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας."

XIX. Συστησάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχόντων, ἧς διὰ τὸ ἄρξαι καὶ αὐτὸς μετεῖχεν, ἔτι δ' ὁρῶν τὸν δῆμον οἰδοῦντα καὶ θρασυνόμενον τῇ τῶν χρεῶν ἀφέσει, δευτέραν προσκατένειμε βουλήν, ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης, τεττάρων οὐσῶν, ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὓς προβουλεύειν ἔταξε τοῦ δήμου καὶ μηδὲν ἐᾶν ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
2 εἰσφέρεσθαι. τὴν δ' ἄνω βουλὴν ἐπίσκοπον πάντων καὶ φύλακα τῶν νόμων ἐκάθισεν, οἰόμενος ἐπὶ δυσὶ βουλαῖς ὥσπερ ἀγκύραις ὁρμοῦσαν ἧττον ἐν σάλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀτρεμοῦντα τὸν δῆμον παρέξειν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, Σόλωνα συστήσασθαί φασι· καὶ μαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ μάλιστα τὸ μηδαμοῦ τὸν Δράκοντα λέγειν μηδ' ὀνομάζειν Ἀρεοπαγίτας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐφέταις ἀεὶ διαλέγεσθαι
3 περὶ τῶν φονικῶν. ὁ δὲ τρισκαιδέκατος ἄξων τοῦ Σόλωνος τὸν ὄγδοον ἔχει τῶν νόμων οὕτως αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι γεγραμμένον. "Ἀτίμων ὅσοι ἄτιμοι ἦσαν πρὶν ἢ Σόλωνα ἄρξαι, ἐπιτίμους εἶναι πλὴν ὅσοι ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου ἢ ὅσοι ἐκ τῶν

law. Being asked, namely, what city was best to live in, "That city," he replied, "in which those who are not wronged, no less than those who are wronged, exert themselves to punish the wrong-doers."

XIX. After he had established the council of the Areiopagus, consisting of those who had been archons year by year (and he himself was a member of this body, since he had been archon), he observed that the common people were uneasy and bold in consequence of their release from debt, and therefore established another council besides, consisting of four hundred men, one hundred chosen from each of the four tribes.[1] These were to deliberate on public matters before the people did, and were not to allow any matter to come before the popular assembly without such previous deliberation. Then he made the upper council a general overseer in the state, and guardian of the laws, thinking that the city with its two councils, riding as it were at double anchor, would be less tossed by the surges, and would keep its populace in greater quiet.

Now most writers say that the council of the Areiopagus, as I have stated, was established by Solon. And their view seems to be strongly supported by the fact that Draco nowhere makes any mention whatsoever of Areiopagites, but always addresses himself to the "ephetai" in cases of homicide. Yet Solon's thirteenth table contains the eighth of his laws recorded in these very words: "As many of the disfranchised as were made such before the archonship of Solon, shall be restored to their rights and franchises, except such as were

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, viii. 4.

ἐφετῶν ἢ ἐκ πρυτανείου καταδικασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἢ σφαγαῖσιν ἢ ἐπὶ
4 τυραννίδι ἔφευγον ὅτε ὁ θεσμὸς ἐφάνη ὅδε." ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν ὡς πρὸ τῆς Σόλωνος ἀρχῆς καὶ νομοθεσίας τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν οὖσαν ἐνδείκνυται. τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πρὸ Σόλωνος ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ καταδικασθέντες, εἰ πρῶτος Σόλων ἔδωκε τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ τὸ κρίνειν; εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία γέγονέ τις ἀσάφεια τοῦ 8
γράμματος ἢ ἔκλειψις, ὥστε τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐπ' αἰτίαις αἷς κρίνουσι νῦν οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται καὶ ἐφέται καὶ πρυτάνεις, ὅτε ὁ θεσμὸς ἐφάνη ὅδε, μένειν ἀτίμους, τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτίμων γενομένων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπισκόπει.

XX. Τῶν δ' ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νόμων ἴδιος μὲν μάλιστα καὶ παράδοξος ὁ κελεύων ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν ἐν στάσει μηδετέρας μερίδος γενόμενον. βούλεται δ', ὡς ἔοικε, μὴ ἀπαθῶς μηδ' ἀναισθήτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενον τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τῷ μὴ συναλγεῖν μηδὲ συννοσεῖν τῇ πατρίδι καλλωπιζόμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν τοῖς τὰ βελτίω καὶ δικαιότερα πράττουσι προσθέμενον, συγκινδυνεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν, μᾶλλον ἢ περιμένειν
2 ἀκινδύνως τὰ τῶν κρατούντων. ἄτοπος δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ γελοῖος ὁ τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ διδούς, ἂν ὁ κρατῶν καὶ κύριος γεγονὼς κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς μὴ δυνατὸς ᾖ πλησιάζειν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔγγιστα τοῦ

condemned by the Areiopagus, or by the ephetai, or in the prytaneium by the kings, on charges of murder or homicide, or of seeking to establish a tyranny, and were in exile when this law was published." This surely proves to the contrary that the council of the Areiopagus was in existence before the archonship and legislation of Solon. For how could men have been condemned in the Areiopagus before the time of Solon, if Solon was the first to give the council of the Areiopagus its jurisdiction? Perhaps, indeed, there is some obscurity in the document, or some omission, and the meaning is that those who had been convicted on charges within the cognizance of those who were Areiopagites and ephetai and prytanes when the law was published, should remain disfranchised, while those convicted on all other charges should recover their rights and franchises. This question, however, my reader must decide for himself.

XX. Among his other laws there is a very peculiar and surprising one which ordains that he shall be disfranchised who, in time of faction, takes neither side.[1] He wishes, probably, that a man should not be insensible or indifferent to the common weal, arranging his private affairs securely and glorying in the fact that he has no share in the distempers and distresses of his country, but should rather espouse promptly the better and more righteous cause, share its perils and give it his aid, instead of waiting in safety to see which cause prevails. That law, too, seems absurd and ridiculous, which permits an heiress, in case the man under whose power and authority she is placed by law is himself unable to consort with her, to be married by one of his next of kin.

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, viii. 5.

ἀνδρὸς ὀπύεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο δ' ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τινές φασι πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους συνεῖναι, χρημάτων δ' ἕνεκα λαμβάνοντας ἐπικλήρους καὶ τῷ νόμῳ καταβιαζομένους τὴν φύσιν. ὁρῶντες γὰρ ᾧ βούλεται τὴν ἐπίκληρον συνοῦσαν ἢ προήσονται τὸν γάμον ἢ μετ' αἰσχύνης καθέξουσι,
3 φιλοπλουτίας καὶ ὕβρεως δίκην διδόντες. εὖ δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ᾧ βούλεται διαλέγεσθαι τὴν ἐπίκληρον, ὅπως οἰκεῖον ᾖ καὶ μετέχον τοῦ γένους τὸ τικτόμενον. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ συντελεῖ καὶ τὸ τὴν νύμφην τῷ νυμφίῳ συγκαθείργνυσθαι μήλου κυδωνίου κατατραγοῦσαν, καὶ τὸ τρὶς ἑκάστου μηνὸς ἐντυγχάνειν πάντως τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ τὸν λαβόντα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ γένοιντο παῖδες, ἀλλὰ τιμή τις ἀνδρὸς αὕτη πρὸς σώφρονα γυναῖκα, καὶ φιλοφροσύνη πολλὰ τῶν συλλεγομένων ἑκάστοτε δυσχερῶν ἀφαιροῦσα, καὶ ταῖς διαφοραῖς οὐκ ἐῶσα παντάπασιν ἀποστραφῆναι.

4 Τῶν δ' ἄλλων γάμων ἀφεῖλε τὰς φερνάς, ἱμάτια τρία καὶ σκεύη μικροῦ νομίσματος ἄξια κελεύσας, ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὴν γαμουμένην. οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο μισθοφόρον οὐδ' ὤνιον εἶναι τὸν γάμον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεκνώσει καὶ χάριτι καὶ φιλότητι γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς συνοικισμόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Διονύσιος, ἀξιούσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ δοθῆναί τινι τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς γάμον, ἔφη τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως νόμους λελυκέναι τυραννῶν, τοὺς δὲ τῆς φύσεως οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸς βιάζεσθαι γά-
5 μους νυμφαγωγῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι τὴν ἀταξίαν ταύτην οὐ δοτέον, οὐδὲ περιοπτέον

Some, however, say that this was a wise provision against those who are unable to perform the duties of a husband, and yet, for the sake of their property, marry heiresses, and so under cover of law, do violence to nature. For when they see that the heiress can consort with whom she pleases, they will either desist from such a marriage, or make it to their shame, and be punished for their avarice and insolence. It is a wise provision, too, that the heiress may not choose her consort at large, but only from the kinsmen of her husband, that her offspring may be of his family and lineage. Conformable to this, also, is the requirement that the bride eat a quince and be shut up in a chamber with the bridegroom; and that the husband of an heiress shall approach her thrice a month without fail. For even though they have no children, still, this is a mark of esteem and affection which a man should pay to a chaste wife; it removes many of the annoyances which develop in all such cases, and prevents their being altogether estranged by their differences.

In all other marriages he prohibited dowries; the bride was to bring with her three changes of raiment, household stuff of small value, and nothing else. For he did not wish that marriage should be a matter of profit or price, but that man and wife should dwell together for the delights of love and the getting of children. Dionysius, indeed, when his mother asked him to give her in marriage to one of his citizens, said that, although he had broken the laws of the city by being its tyrant, he could not outrage the laws of nature by giving in marriage where age forbade. And so our cities should not allow this irregularity, nor tolerate unions which age forbids

ἀώρους καὶ ἀχαρίτους ἐπιπλοκὰς καὶ μηδὲν ἔργον γαμήλιον ἐχούσας μηδὲ τέλος. ἀλλὰ γέροντι νέαν ἀγομένῳ φαίη τις ἂν ἐμμελὴς ἄρχων ἢ νομοθέτης τὸ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην·

εὖ γοῦν ὡς γαμεῖν ἔχεις τάλας,

καὶ νέον ἐν δωματίῳ πλουσίας πρεσβύτιδος, ὥσπερ οἱ πέρδικες, ἀπὸ συνουσίας παχυνόμενον ἐξανευρὼν μετοικίσει πρὸς παρθένον νύμφην ἀνδρὸς δεομένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

XXI. Ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ ὁ κωλύων νόμος τὸν τεθνηκότα κακῶς ἀγορεύειν. καὶ γὰρ ὅσιον τοὺς μεθεστῶτας ἱεροὺς νομίζειν, καὶ δίκαιον ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ πολιτικὸν ἀφαιρεῖν τῆς ἔχθρας τὸ ἄϊδιον. ζῶντα δὲ κακῶς λέγειν ἐκώλυσε πρὸς ἱεροῖς καὶ δικαστηρίοις καὶ ἀρχείοις καὶ θεωρίας οὔσης ἀγώνων· ἢ τρεῖς δραχμὰς τῷ ἰδιώτῃ, δύο δ' ἄλλας ἀποτίνειν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἔταξε. τὸ γὰρ μηδαμοῦ κρατεῖν ὀργῆς ἀπαίδευτον καὶ ἀκόλαστον· τὸ δὲ πανταχοῦ χαλεπόν, ἐνίοις δὲ ἀδύνατον· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δυνατὸν γράφεσθαι τὸν νόμον, εἰ βούλεται χρησίμως ὀλίγους, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἀχρήστως κολάζειν.

2 Εὐδοκίμησε δὲ κἀν τῷ περὶ διαθηκῶν νόμῳ· πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ γένει τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔδει τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν οἶκον καταμένειν, ὁ δ' ᾧ βούλεταί τις ἐπιτρέψας, εἰ μὴ

and love does not invite, which do not fulfil the function of marriage, and defeat its object. Nay, to an old man who is marrying a young wife, any worthy magistrate or lawgiver might say what is said to Philoctetes[1]:

"Indeed, poor wretch, thou art in fine state for marrying!"

And if he discovers a young man in the house of a rich and elderly woman, waxing fat, like a cock-partridge, in her service, he will remove him and give him to some marriageable maid that wants a husband. Thus much, then, on this head.

XXI. Praise is given also to that law of Solon which forbids speaking ill of the dead. For it is piety to regard the deceased as sacred, justice to spare the absent, and good policy to rob hatred of its perpetuity. He also forbade speaking ill of the living in temples, courts-of-law, public offices, and at festivals; the transgressor must pay three drachmas to the person injured, and two more into the public treasury. For never to master one's anger is a mark of intemperance and lack of training; but always to do so is difficult, and for some, impossible. And a law must regard the possibilities in the case, if its maker wishes to punish a few to some purpose, and not many to no purpose.

He was highly esteemed also for his law concerning wills. Before his time, no will could be made, but the entire estate of the deceased must remain in his family. Whereas he, by permitting a

[1] In a play of this name, of uncertain authorship. See Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2], p. 841. Plutarch cites two entire verses in *Morals*, p. 789 a.

παῖδες εἶεν αὐτῷ, δοῦναι τὰ αὑτοῦ, φιλίαν τε συγγενείας ἐτίμησε μᾶλλον καὶ χάριν ἀνάγκης, καὶ τὰ χρήματα κτήματα τῶν ἐχόντων ἐποίησεν.
3 οὐ μὴν ἀνέδην γε πάλιν οὐδ' ἁπλῶς τὰς δόσεις ἐφῆκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ νόσων ἕνεκεν ἢ φαρμάκων ἢ δεσμῶν[1] ἢ ἀνάγκῃ κατασχεθεὶς ἢ γυναικὶ πιθόμενος,[2] εὖ πάνυ καὶ προσηκόντως τὸ πεισθῆναι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τοῦ βιασθῆναι διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς ταὐτὸ τὴν ἀπάτην τῇ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τὴν ἡδονὴν θέμενος, ὡς οὐχ ἧττον ἐκστῆσαι λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπου δυναμένων.
4 Ἐπέστησε δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξόδοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς πένθεσι καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς νόμον ἀπείργοντα τὸ ἄτακτον καὶ ἀκόλαστον· ἐξιέναι μὲν ἱματίων τριῶν μὴ πλέον ἔχουσαν κελεύσας, μηδὲ βρωτὸν ἢ ποτὸν πλείονος ἢ ὀβολοῦ φερομένην, μηδὲ κάνητα πηχυαίου μείζονα, μηδὲ νύκτωρ πορεύεσθαι πλὴν ἁμάξῃ κομιζομένην λύχνου προφαίνοντος. Ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων καὶ τὸ θρηνεῖν πεποιημένα καὶ τὸ κωκύειν ἄλλον ἐν ταφαῖς
5 ἑτέρων ἀφεῖλεν. ἐναγίζειν δὲ βοῦν οὐκ εἴασεν, οὐδὲ συντιθέναι πλέον ἱματίων τριῶν, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀλλότρια μνήματα βαδίζειν χωρὶς ἐκκομιδῆς. ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις νόμοις ἀπηγόρευται· πρόσκειται δὲ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ζημιοῦσθαι

[1] δεσμῶν Bekker adopts Schaefer's correction to δεσμῷ.
[2] πιθόμενος Cobet : πειθόμενος.

man who had no children to give his property to whom he wished, ranked friendship above kinship, and favour above necessity, and made a man's possessions his own property. On the other hand, he did not permit all manner of gifts without restriction or restraint, but only those which were not made under the influence of sickness, or drugs, or imprisonment, or when a man was the victim of compulsion or yielded to the persuasions of his wife. He thought, very rightly and properly, that being persuaded into wrong was no better than being forced into it, and he placed deceit and compulsion, gratification and affliction, in one and the same category, believing that both were alike able to pervert a man's reason.

He also subjected the public appearances of the women, their mourning and their festivals, to a law which did away with disorder and licence. When they went out, they were not to wear more than three garments, they were not to carry more than an obol's worth of food or drink, nor a pannier more than a cubit high, and they were not to travel about by night unless they rode in a waggon with a lamp to light their way. Laceration of the flesh by mourners, and the use of set lamentations, and the bewailing of any one at the funeral ceremonies of another, he forbade. The sacrifice of an ox at the grave was not permitted, nor the burial with the dead of more than three changes of raiment, nor the visiting of other tombs than those of their own family, except at the time of interment. Most of these practices are also forbidden by our laws, but ours contain the additional proviso that such

τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικονόμων, ὡς ἀνάνδροις καὶ γυναικώδεσι τοῖς περὶ τὰ πένθη πάθεσι καὶ ἁμαρτήμασιν ἐνεχομένους.

XXII. Ὁρῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄστυ πιμπλάμενον ἀνθρώπων ἀεὶ συρρεόντων πανταχόθεν ἐπ' ἀδείας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῆς χώρας ἀγεννῆ καὶ φαῦλα, τοὺς δὲ χρωμένους τῇ θαλάττῃ μηδὲν εἰωθότας εἰσάγειν τοῖς μηδὲν ἔχουσιν ἀντιδοῦναι, πρὸς τὰς τέχνας ἔτρεψε τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ νόμον ἔγραψεν υἱῷ τρέφειν τὸν πατέρα μὴ διδαξάμενον
2 τέχνην ἐπάναγκες μὴ εἶναι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ Λυκούργῳ καὶ πόλιν οἰκοῦντι καθαρὰν ὄχλου ξενικοῦ καὶ χώραν κεκτημένῳ

Πολλοῖσι πολλήν, δὶς τοσοῖς δὲ πλείονα,[1]

κατ' Εὐριπίδην, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, εἰλωτικοῦ πλήθους, ὃ βέλτιον ἦν μὴ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ τριβόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ πονοῦν ταπεινοῦσθαι, περικεχυμένου τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, καλῶς εἶχεν ἀσχολιῶν ἐπιπόνων καὶ βαναύσων ἀπαλλάξαντα τοὺς πολίτας συνέχειν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, μίαν τέχνην ταύτην ἐκμανθά-
3 νοντας καὶ ἀσκοῦντας· Σόλων δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι τοὺς νόμους μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πράγματα τοῖς νόμοις προσαρμόζων, καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶν τοῖς γεωργοῦσι γλίσχρως διαρκοῦσαν, ἀργὸν δὲ καὶ σχολαστὴν ὄχλον οὐ δυναμένην τρέφειν, ταῖς τέχναις ἀξίωμα περιέθηκε, καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἔταξεν ἐπισκοπεῖν ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἔχει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ τοὺς ἀργοὺς κολάζειν.

[1] Following Nauck (*Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 680): πολλοῖς, τοσοῖσδε.

offenders shall be punished by the board of censors for women, because they indulge in unmanly and effeminate extravagances of sorrow when they mourn.

XXII. Observing that the city was getting full of people who were constantly streaming into Attica from all quarters for greater security of living, and that most of the country was unfruitful and worthless, and that seafaring men are not wont to import goods for those who have nothing to give them in exchange, he turned the attention of the citizens to the arts of manufacture, and enacted a law that no son who had not been taught a trade should be compelled to support his father. It was well enough for Lycurgus, whose city was free from swarms of strangers, and whose country was, in the words of Euripides,

"For many large, for twice as many more than large,"

and because, above all, that country was flooded with a multitude of Helots, whom it was better not to leave in idleness, but to keep down by continual hardships and toil,—it was well enough for him to set his citizens free from laborious and mechanical occupations and confine their thoughts to arms, giving them this one trade to learn and practice. But Solon, adapting his laws to the situation, rather than the situation to his laws, and observing that the land could give but a mere subsistence to those who tilled it, and was incapable of supporting an unoccupied and leisured multitude, gave dignity to all the trades, and ordered the council of the Areiopagus to examine into every man's means of livelihood, and chastise those who had no occupation.

4 Ἐκεῖνο δ' ἤδη σφοδρότερον, τὸ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἑταίρας γενομένοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας τρέφειν, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστόρηκεν ὁ Ποντικός. ὁ γὰρ ἐν γάμῳ παρορῶν τὸ καλὸν οὐ τέκνων ἕνεκα δῆλός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς ἀγόμενος γυναῖκα, τόν τε μισθὸν ἀπέχει, καὶ παρρησίαν αὑτῷ πρὸς τοὺς γενομένους οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν, οἷς αὐτὸ τὸ γενέσθαι πεποίηκεν ὄνειδος.

XXIII. Ὅλως δὲ πλείστην ἔχειν ἀτοπίαν οἱ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν νόμοι τῷ Σόλωνι δοκοῦσι. μοιχὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τῷ λαβόντι δέδωκεν· ἐὰν δ' ἁρπάσῃ τις ἐλευθέραν γυναῖκα καὶ βιάσηται, ζημίαν ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἔταξε· κἂν προαγωγεύῃ, δραχμὰς εἴκοσι, πλὴν ὅσαι πεφασμένως πωλοῦνται, λέγων δὴ τὰς ἑταίρας. αὗται γὰρ 2 ἐμφανῶς φοιτῶσι πρὸς τοὺς διδόντας. ἔτι δ' οὔτε θυγατέρας πωλεῖν οὔτ' ἀδελφὰς δίδωσι, πλὴν ἂν μὴ λάβῃ παρθένον ἀνδρὶ συγγεγενημένην. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα ποτὲ μὲν πικρῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως κολάζειν, ποτὲ δ' εὐκόλως καὶ παίζοντα, πρόστιμον ζημίαν τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὁρίζοντα, ἄλογόν ἐστι· πλὴν εἰ μὴ σπανίζοντος τότε τοῦ νομίσματος ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγάλας ἐποίει τὰς ἀργυρικὰς ζημίας 3 τὸ δυσπόριστον. εἰς μέν γε τὰ τιμήματα τῶν θυσιῶν λογίζεται πρόβατον καὶ δραχμὴν ἀντὶ μεδίμνου· τῷ δ' Ἰσθμια νικήσαντι δραχμὰς ἔταξεν ἑκατὸν δίδοσθαι, τῷ δ' Ὀλύμπια πεντακοσίας· λύκον δὲ τῷ κομίσαντι πέντε δραχμὰς ἔδωκε, λυκιδέα δὲ μίαν, ὧν φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος τὸ μὲν βοὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ προβάτου τιμήν. ἃς γὰρ

But that provision of his was yet more severe, which, as Heracleides Ponticus informs us, relieved the sons who were born out of wedlock from the necessity of supporting their fathers at all. For he that avoids the honourable state of marriage, clearly takes a woman to himself not for the sake of children, but of pleasure; and he has his reward, in that he robs himself of all right to upbraid his sons for neglecting him, since he has made their very existence a reproach to them.

XXIII. But in general, Solon's laws concerning women seem very absurd. For instance, he permitted an adulterer caught in the act to be killed; but if a man committed rape upon a free woman, he was merely to be fined a hundred drachmas; and if he gained his end by persuasion, twenty drachmas, unless it were with one of those who sell themselves openly, meaning of course the courtesans. For these go openly to those who offer them their price. Still further, no man is allowed to sell a daughter or a sister, unless he find that she is no longer a virgin. But to punish the same offence now severely and inexorably, and now mildly and pleasantly, making the penalty a slight fine, is unreasonable; unless money was scarce in the city at that time, and the difficulty of procuring it made these monetary punishments heavy. In the valuations of sacrificial offerings, at any rate, a sheep and a bushel of grain are reckoned at a drachma; the victor in the Isthmian games was to be paid a hundred drachmas, and the Olympic victor five hundred; the man who brought in a wolf, was given five drachmas, and for a wolf's whelp, one; the former sum, according to Demetrius the Phalerian, was the price of an ox, the latter that of

ἐν τῷ ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ τῶν ἀξόνων ὁρίζει τιμὰς τῶν ἐκκρίτων ἱερείων, εἰκὸς μὲν εἶναι πολλαπλασίας, ἄλλως δὲ κἀκεῖναι πρὸς τὰς νῦν εὐτελεῖς εἰσιν.
4 ἀρχαῖον δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς λύκοις, βελτίονα νέμειν ἢ γεωργεῖν χώραν ἔχουσι. καὶ τὰς φυλὰς εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἴωνος υἱῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν γενῶν, εἰς ἃ διῃρέθησαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον, ὠνομάσθαι, τὸ μὲν μάχιμον Ὁπλίτας, τὸ δ' ἐργατικὸν Ἐργάδεις· δυεῖν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Γελέοντας μὲν τοὺς γεωργούς, Αἰγικορεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ νομαῖς καὶ προβατείαις διατρίβοντας.
5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ὕδωρ οὔτε ποταμοῖς ἐστιν ἀενάοις οὔτε λίμναις τισὶν οὔτ' ἀφθόνοις πηγαῖς ἡ χώρα διαρκής, ἀλλ' οἱ πλεῖστοι φρέασι ποιητοῖς ἐχρῶντο, νόμον ἔγραψεν, ὅπου μέν ἐστι δημόσιον φρέαρ ἐντὸς ἱππικοῦ, χρῆσθαι τούτῳ· τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν διάστημα τεσσάρων ἦν σταδίων· ὅπου δὲ πλεῖον ἀπέχει, ζητεῖν ὕδωρ ἴδιον· ἐὰν δὲ ὀρύξαντες ὀργυιῶν δέκα βάθος παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μὴ εὕρωσι, τότε λαμβάνειν παρὰ τοῦ γείτονος ἑξάχουν ὑδρίαν δὶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πληροῦντας· ἀπορίᾳ γὰρ ᾤετο δεῖν βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἀργίαν ἐφοδιάζειν.
6 ὥρισε δὲ καὶ φυτειῶν μέτρα μάλ' ἐμπείρως, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλο τι φυτεύοντας ἐν ἀγρῷ πέντε πόδας

a sheep. For although the prices which Solon fixes in his sixteenth table are for choice victims, and naturally many times as great as those for ordinary ones, still, even these are low in comparison with present prices. Now the Athenians were from of old great enemies of wolves, since their country was better for pasturage than for tillage. And there are those who say that their four tribes were originally named, not from the sons of Ion, but from the classes into which occupations were divided; thus the warriors were called Hoplitai, the craftsmen Ergadeis; and of the remaining two, the farmers were called Geleontes, the shepherds and herdsmen Aigikoreis.[1]

Since the country was not supplied with water by ever-flowing rivers, or lakes, or copious springs, but most of the inhabitants used wells which had been dug, he made a law that where there was a public well within a "hippikon," a distance of four furlongs, that should be used, but where the distance was greater than this, people must try to get water of their own; if, however, after digging to a depth of ten fathoms on their own land, they could not get water, then they might take it from a neighbour's well, filling a five gallon jar twice a day; for he thought it his duty to aid the needy, not to provision the idle. He also showed great experience in the limits which he set to the planting of trees; no one could set out a tree in a field within five feet of his

[1] This is strained etymology to explain the ancient tribal names of Hopletes, Argadeis, Geleontes, and Aigikoreis, which are derived, in Herodotus v. 66, from the names of the four sons of Ion. The first has nothing to do with "hopla," *arms*; nor the second with "ergon," *work*; nor the third with "ge," *earth*; nor the fourth with "aix," *goat*.

ἀπέχειν τοῦ γείτονος κελεύσας, τοὺς δὲ συκῆν ἢ ἐλαίαν ἐννέα. πορρωτέρω γὰρ ἐξικνεῖται ταῦτα ταῖς ῥίζαις, καὶ οὐ πᾶσι γειτνιᾷ τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀσινῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφὴν παραιρεῖται καὶ βλάπτουσαν ἐνίοις ἀπορροὴν ἀφίησι. βόθρους δὲ καὶ τάφρους τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκέλευσεν ὀρύσσειν, ὅσον ἐμβάλλει βάθος, ἀφιστάμενον μῆκος τἀλλοτρίου· καὶ μελισσῶν σμήνη καθιστάμενον ἀπέχειν τῶν ὑφ' ἑτέρου πρότερον ἱδρυμένων πόδας τριακοσίους.

XXIV. Τῶν δὲ γινομένων διάθεσιν πρὸς ξένους ἐλαίου μόνον ἔδωκεν, ἄλλα δ' ἐξάγειν ἐκώλυσε· καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐξαγόντων ἀρὰς τὸν ἄρχοντα ποιεῖσθαι προσέταξεν, ἢ ἐκτίνειν αὐτὸν ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον. καὶ πρῶτος ἄξων ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦτον περιέχων τὸν νόμον. οὐκ ἂν οὖν τις ἡγήσαιτο παντελῶς ἀπιθάνους τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι καὶ σύκων ἐξαγωγὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπείρητο, καὶ τὸ φαίνειν ἐνδεικνύμενον τοὺς ἐξάγοντας κληθῆναι συκοφαντεῖν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ βλάβης τετραπόδων νόμον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ κύνα δακόντα παραδοῦναι κελεύει κλοιῷ τριπήχει δεδεμένον· τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χάριεν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν.

2 Παρέχει δ' ἀπορίαν καὶ ὁ τῶν δημοποιήτων νόμος, ὅτι γενέσθαι πολίταις οὐ δίδωσι πλὴν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀειφυγίᾳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἢ πανεστίοις Ἀθήναζε μετοικιζομένοις ἐπὶ τέχνῃ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαί φασιν αὐτὸν οὐχ οὕτως ἀπελαύνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους ὡς κατακαλούμενον Ἀθήναζε τούτους ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τῷ μεθέξειν τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἅμα

neighbour's field, or, in case it was a fig-tree or an olive-tree, within nine. For these reach out farther with their roots, and injure some trees by their proximity, taking away their nourishment, and emitting an exhalation which is sometimes noxious. He that would dig a pit or a trench, must dig it at the distance of its own depth from his neighbour's; and he that would set out hives of bees, must put them three hundred feet away from those which another had already installed.

XXIV. Of the products of the soil, he allowed oil only to be sold abroad, but forbade the exportation of others; and if any did so export, the archon was to pronounce curses upon them, or else himself pay a hundred drachmas into the public treasury. His first table is the one which contains this law. One cannot, therefore, wholly disbelieve those who say that the exportation of figs also was anciently forbidden, and that the one who *showed up*, or pointed out such exporters, was called a "sycophant," or *fig-shower*. He also enacted a law concerning injuries received from beasts, according to which a dog that had bitten anybody must be delivered up with a wooden collar three cubits long fastened to it; a happy device this for promoting safety.

But the law concerning naturalized citizens is of doubtful character. He permitted only those to be made citizens who were permanently exiled from their own country, or who removed to Athens with their entire families to ply a trade. This he did, as we are told, not so much to drive away other foreigners, as to invite these particular ones to Athens with the full assurance of becoming citizens; he also thought that reliance could be placed both

πιστοὺς νομίζοντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότας τὴν ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, τοὺς δ' ἀπολελοιπότας
3 διὰ τὴν γνώμην. ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἐν δημοσίῳ σιτήσεως, ὅπερ αὐτὸς παρασιτεῖν κέκληκε. τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐᾷ σιτεῖσθαι πολλάκις, ἐὰν δὲ ᾧ καθήκει μὴ βούληται, κολάζει, τὸ μὲν ἡγούμενος πλεονεξίαν, τὸ δ' ὑπεροψίαν τῶν κοινῶν.

XXV. Ἰσχὺν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις πᾶσιν εἰς ἑκατὸν ἐνιαυτοὺς ἔδωκε· καὶ κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλίνους ἄξονας ἐν πλαισίοις περιέχουσι στρεφομένους, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ λείψανα μικρὰ διεσώζετο· καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, κύρβεις. καὶ Κρατῖνος ὁ κωμικὸς εἴρηκέ που·

> Πρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος οἷσι νῦν
> φρύγουσιν ἤδη τὰς κάχρυς τοῖς κύρβεσιν.

2 ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἰδίως ἐν οἷς ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίαι περιέχονται, κύρβεις, ἄξονας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὠνομάσθαι. κοινὸν μὲν οὖν ὤμνυεν ὅρκον ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους ἐμπεδώσειν, ἴδιον δ' ἕκαστος τῶν θεσμοθετῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ, καταφατίζων, εἴ τι παραβαίη τῶν θεσμῶν, ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἰσομέτρητον[1] ἀναθήσειν ἐν Δελφοῖς.[1]

[1] ἰσομέτρητον and ἐν Δελφοῖς are not in the text of Aristotle.

on those who had been forced to abandon their own country, and on those who had left it with a fixed purpose. Characteristic of Solon also was his regulation of the practice of eating at the public table in the townhall, for which his word was "parasitein." [1] The same person was not allowed to eat there often, but if one whose duty it was to eat there refused, he was punished. Solon thought the conduct of the first grasping; that of the second, contemptuous of the public interests.

XXV. All his laws were to have force for a hundred years, and they were written on "axones," or wooden tablets, which revolved with the oblong frames containing them. Slight remnants of these were still preserved in the Prytaneium when I was at Athens, and they were called, according to Aristotle,[2] "kurbeis." Cratinus, also, the comic poet, somewhere says:—

"By Solon, and by Draco too I make mine oath,
Whose kurbeis now are used to parch our barleycorns." [3]

But some say that only those tablets which relate to sacred rites and sacrifices are properly called "kurbeis," and the rest are called "axones." However that may be, the council took a joint oath to ratify the laws of Solon, and each of the "thesmothetai," or guardians of the statutes, swore separately at the herald's stone in the market-place, vowing that if he transgressed the statutes in any way, he would dedicate at Delphi a golden statue of commensurate worth.

[1] Hence, with scornful meaning, the word *parasite*.
[2] Cf. *Const. of Athens*, vii. 1, with Sandys' notes.
[3] Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 94.

3 Συνιδὼν δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, καὶ τὴν κίνησιν τῆς σελήνης οὔτε δυομένῳ τῷ ἡλίῳ πάντως οὔτ' ἀνίσχοντι συμφερομένην, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ καταλαμβάνουσαν καὶ παρερχομένην τὸν ἥλιον, αὐτὴν μὲν ἔταξε ταύτην ἕνην καὶ νέαν καλεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρὸ συνόδου μόριον αὐτῆς τῷ παυομένῳ μηνί, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἤδη τῷ ἀρχομένῳ προσήκειν ἡγούμενος, πρῶτος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὀρθῶς ἀκούσας Ὁμήρου λέγοντος,

Τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένοιο,

τὴν δ' ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραν νουμηνίαν ἐκάλεσε. τὰς δ' ἀπ' εἰκάδος οὐ προστιθείς, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρῶν καὶ ἀναλύων, ὥσπερ τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἑώρα, μέχρι τριακάδος ἠρίθμησεν.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν νόμων εἰσενεχθέντων ἔνιοι τῷ Σόλωνι καθ' ἑκάστην προσῄεσαν ἡμέραν, ἐπαινοῦντες ἢ ψέγοντες ἢ συμβουλεύοντες ἐμβάλλειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ὅ τι τύχοιεν ἢ ἀφαιρεῖν, πλεῖστοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ πυνθανόμενοι καὶ ἀνακρίνοντες καὶ κελεύοντες αὐτὸν ὅπως ἕκαστον ἔχει καὶ πρὸς ἣν κεῖται διάνοιαν ἐπεκδιδάσκειν καὶ σαφη-
5 νίζειν, ὁρῶν ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πράττειν ἄτοπον καὶ τὸ μὴ πράττειν ἐπίφθονον, ὅλως δὲ ταῖς ἀπορίαις ὑπεκστῆναι βουλόμενος καὶ διαφυγεῖν

Observing the irregularity of the month, and that the motion of the moon does not always coincide with the rising and setting of the sun, but that often she overtakes and passes the sun on the same day, he ordered that day to be called the Old and New, assigning the portion of it which preceded the conjunction to the expiring month, and the remaining portion to the month that was just beginning. He was thus the first, as it would seem, to understand Homer's verse,[1] which speaks of a day when

"This month is waning, and the next is setting in,"

and the day following this he called the first of the month. After the twentieth he did not count the days by adding them to twenty, but by subtracting them from thirty, on a descending scale, like the waning of the moon.[2]

No sooner were the laws of Solon put into operation than some would come to him every day with praise or censure of them, or with advice to insert something into the documents, or take something out. Very numerous, too, were those who came to him with inquiries and questions about them, urging him to teach and make clear to them the meaning and purpose of each several item. He saw that to do this was out of the question, and that not to do it would bring odium upon him, and wishing to be wholly rid of these perplexities and to escape from

[1] *Odyssey*, xiv. 162=xix. 307, of the day when Odysseus would return to Ithaca.

[2] Thus the twenty-first was called the tenth, the twenty-second the ninth, and so on, "of the waning month." The twenty-ninth was the second of the waning month, the thirtieth the Old and New.

τὸ δυσάρεστον καὶ φιλαίτιον τῶν πολιτῶν (ἔργμασι γὰρ ἐν μεγάλοις πᾶσιν ἁδεῖν χαλεπόν, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκε), πρόσχημα τῆς πλάνης τὴν ναυκληρίαν ποιησάμενος ἐξέπλευσε, δεκαετῆ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποδημίαν αἰτησάμενος. ἤλπιζε γὰρ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοὺς [1] ἔσεσθαι συνήθεις.

XXVI. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκετο καὶ διέτριψεν, ὡς αὐτός φησι,

Νείλου ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Κανωβίδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς.

χρόνον δέ τινα καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ψένωφιν τὸν Ἡλιουπολίτην καὶ Σῶγχιν τὸν Σαΐτην, λογιωτάτοις οὖσι τῶν ἱερέων, συνεφιλοσόφησε· παρ' ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἀκούσας λόγον, ὡς Πλάτων φησίν, ἐπεχείρησε διὰ ποιήματος ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς
2 τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἔπειτα πλεύσας εἰς Κύπρον ἠγαπήθη διαφερόντως ὑπὸ Φιλοκύπρου τινὸς τῶν ἐκεῖ βασιλέων, ὃς εἶχεν οὐ μεγάλην πόλιν, ᾠκισμένην ὑπὸ Δημοφῶντος τοῦ Θησέως, περὶ τὸν Κλάριον ποταμὸν ἐν χωρίοις ὀχυροῖς μέν, ἄλλως δὲ δυσχερέσι καὶ φαύλοις κειμένην. ἔπεισεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Σόλων ὑποκειμένου καλοῦ πεδίου μεταθέντα τὴν πόλιν ἡδίονα καὶ μείζονα
3 κατασκευάσαι. καὶ παρὼν ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ, καὶ συνδιεκόσμησε πρός τε διαγωγὴν ἄριστα καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας τῷ Φιλοκύπρῳ συνελθεῖν, ζηλῶσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας· διὸ καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι τιμὴν

[1] *τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοὺς* after MSS. cited by Stephanus; Bekker has *τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς*, the conjecture of Stephanus (*the laws would be familiar to them*).

the captiousness and censoriousness of the citizens (for "in great affairs," as he says himself,[1] "it is difficult to please all"), he made his ownership of a vessel an excuse for foreign travel, and set sail, after obtaining from the Athenians leave of absence for ten years. In this time he hoped they would be accustomed to his laws.

XXVI. In the first place, then, he went to Egypt,[2] and lived, as he himself says,[3]

"Where Nile pours forth his floods, near the Canobic shore."

He also spent some time in studies with Psenophis of Heliopolis and Sonchis of Saïs, who were very learned priests. From these, as Plato says,[4] he heard the story of the lost Atlantis, and tried to introduce it in a poetical form to the Greeks.[5] Next he sailed to Cyprus, and was greatly beloved of Philocyprus, one of the kings of the island. This prince had a small city, founded by Demophon, the son of Theseus, and lying near the river Clarius, in a position which was strong, but otherwise incommodious and sorry. Solon therefore persuaded him to remove the city to the fair plain which lay below it, and make it more spacious and pleasant. He also remained and took charge of the new city's consolidation, and helped to arrange it in the best possible manner both for convenience of living and for safety. The result was that many colonists flocked to Philocyprus, and he was the envy of the other kings. He therefore paid Solon the honour of

[1] Fragment 7 (Bergk).
[2] Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xi. 1.
[3] Fragment 28 (Bergk).
[4] *Timaeus*, p. 22 a.
[5] Cf. chapters xxxi. 3; xxxii. 1 f.

ἀποδιδοὺς Αἰπεῖαν τὴν πόλιν καλουμένην πρό-
4 τερον ἀπ' ἐκείνου Σόλους προσηγόρευσε. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μέμνηται τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ· προσαγορεύσας γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις τὸν Φιλόκυπρον,

Νῦν δὲ (φησί) σὺ μὲν Σολίοισι πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἀνάσσων
τήνδε πόλιν ναίοις καὶ γένος ὑμέτερον·
αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ ξὺν νηὶ θοῇ κλεινῆς ἀπὸ νήσου
ἀσκηθῆ πέμπσι Κύπρις ἰοστέφανος·
οἰκισμῷ δ' ἐπὶ τῷδε χάριν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάζοι
ἐσθλὸν καὶ νόστον πατρίδ' ἐς ἡμετέρην.

XXVII. Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἔντευξιν αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἔνιοι τοῖς χρόνοις ὡς πεπλασμένην ἐλέγχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἔνδοξον οὕτω καὶ τοσούτους μάρτυρας ἔχοντα, καί, ὃ μεῖζόν ἐστι, πρέποντα τῷ Σόλωνος ἤθει καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ σοφίας ἄξιον, οὐ μοι δοκῶ προήσεσθαι χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οἷς μυρίοι διορθοῦντες ἄχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστῆσαι τὰς
2 ἀντιλογίας. τὸν δ' οὖν Σόλωνά φασιν εἰς Σάρδεις δεηθέντι τῷ Κροίσῳ παραγενόμενον, παθεῖν τι παραπλήσιον ἀνδρὶ χερσαίῳ κατιόντι πρῶτον ἐπὶ θάλατταν. ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ ὁρῶν ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου ποταμὸν ᾤετο τὴν θάλασσαν εἶναι, καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι τὴν αὐλὴν διαπορευομένῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ὁρῶντι τῶν βασιλικῶν κεκοσμημένους πολυτελῶς, καὶ

naming the new city after him, and called it Soli; its name had been Aipeia. Solon himself also makes mention of this consolidation. In his elegies, namely, he addresses Philocyprus, and says [1]:—

"Now mayest thou long time be lord and master for the Solii here,
Dwelling in this city thyself, and thy family after thee;
But may I and my swift ship, as we leave this storied isle,
Be brought upon our way in safety by Cypris of the violet crown.
Upon this settlement of thine may she bestow favour and glory;
And upon me an auspicious return to my fatherland."

XXVII. As for his interview with Croesus, some think to prove by chronology that it is fictitious. But when a story is so famous and so well-attested, and, what is more to the point, when it comports so well with the character of Solon, and is so worthy of his magnanimity and wisdom, I do not propose to reject it out of deference to any chronological canons, so called, which thousands are to this day revising, without being able to bring their contradictions into any general agreement. So then, they say that Solon, on visiting Sardis at the invitation of Croesus,[2] had much the same experience as an inland man who goes down for the first time to the sea. For just as such a man thinks each successive river that he sees to be the sea, so Solon, as he passed through the court and beheld many of the king's retainers in

[1] Fragment 19 (Bergk). [2] Cf. Herodotus, i. 30–33.

σοβοῦντας ἐν ὄχλῳ προπομπῶν καὶ δορυφόρων, ἕκαστος ἐδόκει Κροῖσος εἶναι, μέχρι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦχθη, πᾶν ὅσον ἐν λίθοις, ἐν βαφαῖς ἐσθῆτος, ἐν τέχναις χρυσοῦ περὶ κόσμον ἐκπρεπὲς ἔχειν ἢ περιττὸν ἢ ζηλωτὸν ἐδόκει περικείμενον, ὡς δὴ θέαμα σεμνότατον ὀφθείη καὶ ποικιλώτατον. 3 ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Σόλων ἄντικρυς καταστὰς οὔτ' ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἶπε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ὧν ὁ Κροῖσος προσεδόκησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆλος ἦν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τῆς ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ μικροπρεπείας καταφρονῶν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τούς τε θησαυροὺς ἀνοῖξαι τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἄγοντας ἐπιδεῖξαι μηδὲν δεομένῳ κατασκευὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν. ἤρκει γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦ τρόπου κατανόησιν παρασχεῖν. ὡς δ' οὖν αὖθις ἦχθη γεγονὼς ἁπάντων θεατής, ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κροῖσος εἴ τινα 4 οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ μακαριώτερον. ἀποφηναμένου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὅτι χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ ὁ Τέλλος γενόμενος καὶ παῖδας εὐδοκίμους καταλιπὼν καὶ βίον οὐδενὸς ἐνδεᾶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐτελεύτησεν ἐνδόξως ἀριστεύσας ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ἤδη μὲν ἀλλόκοτος ἐδόκει εἶναι τῷ Κροίσῳ καὶ ἄγροικος, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον πολὺ μηδὲ χρυσίον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ποιεῖται τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν, ἀλλὰ δημοτικοῦ καὶ ἰδιώτου βίον καὶ θάνατον ἀνθρώπου μᾶλλον ἢ τοσαύτην ἀγαπῴη δύναμιν καὶ ἀρχήν. 5 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ μετὰ Τέλλον ἄλλον ἔγνωκεν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονέστερον. πάλιν δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος εἰπόντος εἰδέναι Κλέοβιν καὶ Βίτωνα, φιλαδέλφους καὶ φιλομή-

costly apparel and moving proudly amid a throng of couriers and armed guards, thought each in turn to be Croesus, until he was brought to the king himself, who was decked out with everything in the way of precious stones, dyed raiment, and wrought gold that men deem remarkable, or extravagant, or enviable, in order that he might present a most august and gorgeous spectacle. But when Solon, in this presence, neither showed any astonishment at what he saw, nor made any such comments upon it as Croesus had expected, but actually made it clear to all discerning eyes that he despised such vulgarity and pettiness, the king ordered his treasure chambers to be thrown open for the guest, and that he should be led about to behold the rest of his sumptuous equipments. Of this there was no need, for the man himself sufficed to give Solon an understanding of his character. However, when Solon had seen everything and had been conducted back again, Croesus asked him if he had ever known a happier man than he. Solon said he had, and that the man was Tellus, a fellow-citizen of his own ; Tellus, he went on to say, had proved himself an honest man, had left reputable sons behind him, and had closed a life which knew no serious want with a glorious display of valour in behalf of his country. Croesus at once judged Solon to be a strange and uncouth fellow, since he did not make an abundance of gold and silver his measure of happiness, but admired the life and death of an ordinary private man more than all this display of power and sovereignty. Notwithstanding, he asked him again whether, next to Tellus, he knew any other man more fortunate than he. Again Solon said he did, naming Cleobis and Bito, men surpass-

τορας διαφερόντως ἄνδρας, οἳ τὴν μητέρα τῶν βοῶν βραδυνόντων ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ τῷ ζυγῷ τῆς ἁμάξης ἐκόμισαν πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἱερὸν εὐδαιμονιζομένην ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ χαίρουσαν, εἶτα θύσαντες καὶ πιόντες οὐκ ἔτι μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλὰ τεθνηκότες ἀναλγῆ καὶ ἄλυπον ἐπὶ
6 δόξῃ τοσαύτῃ θάνατον ὤφθησαν. "Ἡμᾶς δέ," εἶπεν ἤδη πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ Κροῖσος, "εἰς οὐδένα τίθης εὐδαιμόνων ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπων;" καὶ ὁ Σόλων οὔτε κολακεύειν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν οὔτε περαιτέρω παροξύνειν, "Ἕλλησιν," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ Λυδῶν, πρός τε τἆλλα μετρίως ἔχειν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε, καὶ σοφίας τινὸς ἀθαρσοῦς, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ δημοτικῆς, οὐ βασιλικῆς οὐδὲ λαμπρᾶς, ὑπὸ μετριότητος ἡμῖν μέτεστιν, ἣ τύχαις ὁρῶσα παντοδαπαῖς χρώμενον ἀεὶ τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἐᾷ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν, οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν μεταβολῆς χρόνον ἔχουσαν.
7 ἔπεισι γὰρ ἑκάστῳ ποικίλον ἐξ ἀδήλου τὸ μέλλον· ᾧ δ' εἰς τέλος ὁ δαίμων ἔθετο τὴν εὐπραξίαν, τοῦτον εὐδαίμονα νομίζομεν. ὁ δὲ ζῶντος ἔτι καὶ κινδυνεύοντος ἐν τῷ βίῳ μακαρισμός, ὥσπερ ἀγωνιζομένου κήρυγμα καὶ στέφανος, ἐστὶν ἀβέβαιος καὶ ἄκυρος." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Σόλων ἀπηλλάττετο λυπήσας μέν, οὐ νουθετήσας δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον.

XXVIII. Ὁ δὲ λογοποιὸς Αἴσωπος, ἐτύγχανε

ing all others in brotherly love and in dutiful affection towards their mother; for once, he said, when the car in which she was riding was delayed by the oxen, they took the yoke upon their own shoulders and brought their mother to the temple of Hera, where her countrymen called her a happy woman and her heart was rejoiced; then, after sacrifice and feasting, they laid themselves to rest, and never rose again, but were found to have died a painless and tranquil death with so great honour fresh upon them. "What!" said Croesus, who by this time was angered, "dost thou not count us among happy men at all?" Then Solon, who was unwilling to flatter him and did not wish to exasperate him further, said: "O king of Lydia, as the Deity has given us Greeks all other blessings in moderation, so our moderation gives us a kind of wisdom which is timid, in all likelihood, and fit for common people, not one which is kingly and splendid. This wisdom, such as it is, observing that human life is ever subject to all sorts of vicissitudes, forbids us to be puffed up by the good things we have, or to admire a man's felicity while there is still time for it to change. For the future which is advancing upon every one is varied and uncertain, but when the Deity bestows prosperity on a man up to the end, that man we consider happy; to pronounce any one happy, however, while he is still living and running the risks of life, is like proclaiming an athlete victorious and crowning him while he is still contending for the prize; the verdict is insecure and without authority." When he had said this, Solon departed, leaving Croesus vexed, but none the wiser for it.

XXVIII. Now it so happened that Aesop, the

γὰρ εἰς Σάρδεις μετάπεμπτος γεγονὼς ὑπὸ Κροίσου καὶ τιμώμενος, ἠχθέσθη τῷ Σόλωνι μηδεμιᾶς τυχόντι φιλανθρωπίας· καὶ προτρέπων αὐτόν, "Ὦ Σόλων," ἔφη, "τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δεῖ ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα ὁμιλεῖν." καὶ ὁ Σόλων, "Μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἄριστα."

2 Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Κροῖσος οὕτω τοῦ Σόλωνος κατεφρόνησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Κύρῳ συμβαλὼν ἐκρατήθη μάχῃ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσε, καὶ ζῶν ἁλοὺς αὐτὸς ἔμελλε καταπίμπρασθαι, καὶ γενομένης πυρᾶς ἀνεβιβάσθη δεδεμένος θεωμένων Περσῶν ἁπάντων καὶ Κύρου παρόντος, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐξικνεῖτο καὶ δυνατὸς ἦν τῇ φωνῇ φθεγξάμενος ἀνεβόησε τρίς, "Ὦ Σόλων." θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Κῦρος ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἐρησομένους ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Σόλων, ὃν ἐν τύχαις[1] ἀπόροις μόνον
3 ἀνακαλεῖται. καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος οὐδὲν ἀποκρυψάμενος εἶπεν ὅτι "Τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι σοφῶν εἷς οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ, ὃν ἐγὼ μετεπεμψάμην οὐκ ἀκοῦσαί τι βουλόμενος οὐδὲ μαθεῖν ὧν ἐνδεὴς ἤμην, ἀλλ' ὡς δή μοι θεατὴς γένοιτο καὶ μάρτυς ἀπίοι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐκείνης, ἣν ἀποβαλεῖν ἄρα μεῖζον ἦν κακὸν ἢ λαβεῖν ἀγαθόν. λόγος γὰρ ἦν καὶ δόξα τἀγαθὸν παρούσης· αἱ μεταβολαὶ δέ μοι αὐτῆς εἰς πάθη δεινὰ καὶ συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους
4 ἔργῳ τελευτῶσι. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν τότε τὰ νῦν τεκμαιρόμενος, ἐκέλευε τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ θρασυνόμενον ἀβεβαίοις ὑπονοίαις ὑβρίζειν." ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀνηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, ἅτε δὴ σοφώτερος ὢν τοῦ Κροίσου καὶ

[1] ἐν τύχαις Coraës, Cobet, and S : τύχαις.

writer of fables, was in Sardis, having been summoned thither by Croesus, and receiving much honour at his hands. He was distressed that Solon met with no kindly treatment, and said to him by way of advice: "O Solon, our converse with kings should be either as rare, or as pleasing as is possible." "No, indeed!" said Solon, "but either as rare or as beneficial as is possible."

At this time, then, Croesus held Solon in a contempt like this; but afterwards he encountered Cyrus, was defeated in battle, lost his city, was taken alive and condemned to be burnt; and then, as he lay bound upon the pyre in the sight of all the Persians and of Cyrus himself, with all the reach and power of which his voice was capable, he called out thrice:[1] "O Solon!" Cyrus, then, astonished at this, sent men to ask him what man or god this Solon was on whom alone he called in his extremity. And Croesus, without any concealment, said: "This man was one of the sages of Greece, and I sent for him, not with any desire to hear or learn the things of which I stood in need, but in order that he might behold, and, when he left me, bear testimony to the happiness I then enjoyed, the loss of which I now see to be a greater evil than its possession was a good. For when it was mine, the good I derived from it was matter of report and men's opinion, but its departure from me issues in terrible sufferings and irreparable calamities which are real. And that man, conjecturing this future from what he then saw, bade me look to the end of my life, and not let insecure conjectures embolden me to be proud and insolent." When this was reported to Cyrus, since he was a wiser man than Croesus, and

[1] Cf. Herodotus, i. 86.

τὸν λόγον τοῦ Σόλωνος ἰσχυρὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι βλέπων, οὐ μόνον ἀφῆκε τὸν Κροῖσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ἐφ' ὅσον ἔζη διετέλεσε· καὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ὁ Σόλων ἐνὶ λόγῳ τὸν μὲν σώσας, τὸν δὲ παιδεύσας τῶν βασιλέων.

XXIX. Οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει πάλιν ἐστασίαζον ἀποδημοῦντος τοῦ Σόλωνος· καὶ προειστήκει τῶν μὲν Πεδιέων Λυκοῦργος, τῶν δὲ Παράλων Μεγακλῆς ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος, Πεισίστρατος δὲ τῶν Διακρίων, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ θητικὸς ὄχλος καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀχθόμενος· ὥστε χρῆσθαι μὲν ἔτι τοῖς νόμοις τὴν πόλιν, ἤδη δὲ πράγματα νεώτερα προσδοκᾶν καὶ ποθεῖν ἅπαντας ἑτέραν κατάστασιν, οὐκ ἴσον ἐλπίζοντας, ἀλλὰ πλέον ἕξειν ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ κρατήσειν παντάπασι τῶν διαφερο-
2 μένων. οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων ὁ Σόλων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, αἰδῶ μὲν εἶχε καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἐν δὲ κοινῷ λέγειν καὶ πράσσειν ὁμοίως οὐκ ἔτ' ἦν δυνατὸς οὐδὲ πρόθυμος ὑπὸ γήρως, ἀλλ' ἐντυγχάνων ἰδίᾳ τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν στάσεων ἀνδράσιν ἐπειρᾶτο διαλύειν καὶ συναρμόττειν, μάλιστα τοῦ Πεισιστράτου προσέχειν δοκοῦντος αὐτῷ. καὶ γὰρ αἱμύλον τι καὶ προσφιλὲς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ βοηθητικὸς ἦν τοῖς πένησι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἔχθρας ἐπιεικὴς καὶ
3 μέτριος. ἃ δὲ φύσει μὴ προσῆν αὐτῷ, καὶ ταῦτα μιμούμενος ἐπιστεύετο μᾶλλον τῶν ἐχόντων, ὡς εὐλαβὴς καὶ κόσμιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ ἴσον ἀγαπῶν, καὶ δυσχεραίνων εἴ τις τὰ παρόντα

saw the word of Solon confirmed in the example before him, he not only released Croesus, but actually held him in honour as long as he lived. And thus Solon had the reputation of saving one king and instructing another by means of a single saying.

XXIX. But the people of Athens were again divided into factions while Solon was away. The Plain-men were headed by Lycurgus; the Shore-men by Megacles the son of Alcmaeon, and the Hill-men by Peisistratus.[1] Among the last was the multitude of Thetes, who were the bitter enemies of the rich. As a consequence, though the city still observed the new laws, yet all were already expecting a revolution and desirous of a different form of government, not in hopes of an equality, but each party thinking to be bettered by the change, and to get the entire mastery of its opponents. Such was the state of affairs when Solon returned to Athens. He was revered and honoured by all, but owing to his years he no longer had the strength or the ardour to speak and act in public as before. He did, however, confer privately with the chiefs of the opposing factions, endeavouring to reconcile and harmonize them, and Peisistratus seemed to pay him more heed than the others. For Peisistratus had an insinuating and agreeable quality in his address, he was ready to help the poor, and was reasonable and moderate in his enmities. Even those virtues which nature had denied him were imitated by him so successfully that he won more confidence than those who actually possessed them. He was thought to be a cautious and order-loving man, one that prized equality above all things, and would take it ill if any one disturbed the existing

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiii. 4.

κινοίη καὶ νεωτέρων ὀρέγοιτο· τούτοις γὰρ ἐξηπάτα τοὺς πολλούς. ὁ δὲ Σόλων ταχὺ τὸ ἦθος ἐφώρασεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρῶτος ἐγκατεῖδεν· οὐ μὴν ἐμίσησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειρᾶτο πραΰνειν καὶ νουθετεῖν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους ὡς εἴ τις ἐξέλοι τὸ φιλόπρωτον αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἰάσαιτο τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος εὐφυέστερος πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐδὲ βελτίων πολίτης.

4 Ἀρχομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν τραγῳδίαν κινεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν καινότητα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄγοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὔπω δ' εἰς ἅμιλλαν ἐναγώνιον ἐξηγμένου, φύσει φιλήκοος ὢν καὶ φιλομαθὴς ὁ Σόλων, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν γήρᾳ σχολῇ καὶ παιδιᾷ καὶ νὴ Δία πότοις καὶ μουσικῇ παραπέμπων ἑαυτόν, ἐθεάσατο τὸν Θέσπιν αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενον, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς.

5 μετὰ δὲ τὴν θέαν προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν ἠρώτησεν εἰ τοσούτων ἐναντίον οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τηλικαῦτα ψευδόμενος. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Θέσπιδος μὴ δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ μετὰ παιδιᾶς λέγειν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πράσσειν, σφόδρα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν γῆν ὁ Σόλων πατάξας· "Ταχὺ μέντοι τὴν παιδιάν," ἔφη, "ταύτην ἐπαινοῦντες οὕτω καὶ τιμῶντες εὑρήσομεν ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις."

XXX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατατρώσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦκεν εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ ζεύγους κομιζόμενος, καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον ὡς διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβεβουλευμένος,

order and attempted a change. On these points, indeed, he completely deceived most people. But Solon quickly detected his real character, and was the first to perceive his secret designs. He did not, however, treat him as an enemy, but tried to soften and mould him by his instructions. He actually said to him and to others that if the desire for pre-eminence could but be banished from his soul, and his eager passion for the tyranny be cured, no other man would be more naturally disposed to virtue, or a better citizen.

Thespis was now beginning to develop tragedy, and the attempt attracted most people because of its novelty, although it was not yet made a matter of competitive contest. Solon, therefore, who was naturally fond of hearing and learning anything new, and who in his old age more than ever before indulged himself in leisurely amusement, yes, and in wine and song, went to see Thespis act in his own play, as the custom of the ancient poets was. After the spectacle, he accosted Thespis, and asked him if he was not ashamed to tell such lies in the presence of so many people. Thespis answered that there was no harm in talking and acting that way in play, whereupon Solon smote the ground sharply with his staff and said: "Soon, however, if we give play of this sort so much praise and honour, we shall find it in our solemn contracts."

XXX. Now when Peisistratus, after inflicting a wound upon himself,[1] came into the market-place riding in a chariot, and tried to exasperate the populace with the charge that his enemies had plotted against his life on account of his political

[1] Cf. Herodotus, i. 59; Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiv. 1.

καὶ πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ βοῶντας, προσελθὼν ἐγγὺς ὁ Σόλων καὶ παραστάς, "Οὐ καλῶς," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ Ἱπποκράτους, ὑποκρίνῃ τὸν Ὁμηρικὸν Ὀδυσσέα· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖς τοὺς πολίτας παρακρουόμενος οἷς ἐκεῖνος τοὺς πολε-
2 μίους ἐξηπάτησεν, αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτόν." ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἦν ἕτοιμον ὑπερμαχεῖν τοῦ Πεισιστράτου, καὶ συνῆλθεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος. Ἀρίστωνος δὲ γράψαντος ὅπως δοθῶσι πεντήκοντα κορυνηφόροι τῷ Πεισιστράτῳ φυλακὴ τοῦ σώματος, ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Σόλων ἀναστὰς καὶ πολλὰ διεξῆλθεν ὅμοια τούτοις οἷς διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων γέγραφεν·

Εἰς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὁρᾶτε καὶ εἰς ἔπη αἰμύλου ἀνδρός.
ὑμῶν δ' εἷς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἴχνεσι βαίνει, σύμπασιν δ' ὑμῖν χαῦνος ἔνεστι νόος.

3 ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν πένητας ὡρμημένους χαρίζεσθαι τῷ Πεισιστράτῳ καὶ θορυβοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ ἀποδειλιῶντας, ἀπῆλθεν εἰπὼν ὅτι τῶν μέν ἐστι σοφώτερος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρειότερος· σοφώτερος μὲν τῶν μὴ συνιέντων τὸ πραττόμενον, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ τῶν συνιέντων μέν, ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τῇ τυραννίδι φοβουμένων. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα κυρώσας ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἔτι τῶν κορυνηφόρων διεμικρολογεῖτο πρὸς τὸν Πεισίστρατον, ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐβούλετο τρέφοντα καὶ συνάγοντα φανερῶς περιεώρα, μέχρι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέσχε.

4 Γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ τῆς πόλεως συντα-

opinions, and many of them greeted the charge with angry cries, Solon drew near and accosted him, saying: "O son of Hippocrates, thou art playing the Homeric Odysseus badly; for when he disfigured himself it was to deceive his enemies,[1] but thou doest it to mislead thy fellow-citizens." After this the multitude was ready to fight for Peisistratus, and a general assembly of the people was held. Here Ariston made a motion that Peisistratus be allowed a body-guard of fifty club-bearers, but Solon formally opposed it, and said many things which were like what he has written in his poems:—

"Ye have regard indeed to the speech and words of a wily man.
Yet every one of you walks with the steps of a fox,
And in you all dwells an empty mind." [2]

But when he saw that the poor were tumultuously bent on gratifying Peisistratus, while the rich were fearfully slinking away from any conflict with him, he left the assembly, saying that he was wiser than the one party, and braver than the other; wiser than those who did not understand what was being done, and braver than those who, though they understood it, were nevertheless afraid to oppose the tyranny.[3] So the people passed the decree, and then held Peisistratus to no strict account of the number of his club-bearers, but suffered him to keep and lead about in public as many as he wished, until at last he seized the acropolis.

When this had been done, and the city was in an

[1] *Odyssey*, iv. 244–264.

[2] Fragment 11 (Bergk), verses 7, 5, and 6. Plutarch has changed the order; Bekker and Cobet restore it.

[3] Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiv. 2.

ραχθείσης, ὁ μὲν Μεγακλῆς εὐθὺς ἔφυγε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν, ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἤδη μὲν 9
ἦν σφόδρα γέρων καὶ τοὺς βοηθοῦντας οὐκ εἶχεν,
ὅμως δὲ προῆλθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ διελέχθη πρὸς
τοὺς πολίτας, τὰ μὲν κακίζων τὴν ἀβουλίαν αὐ-
τῶν καὶ μαλακίαν, τὰ δὲ παροξύνων ἔτι καὶ
5 παρακαλῶν μὴ προέσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· ὅτε καὶ
τὸ μνημονευόμενον εἶπεν, ὡς πρώην μὲν ἦν εὐ-
μαρέστερον αὐτοῖς τὸ κωλῦσαι τὴν τυραννίδα
συνισταμένην, νῦν δὲ μεῖζόν ἐστι καὶ λαμπρότερον
ἐκκόψαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν συνεστῶσαν ἤδη καὶ πεφυ-
κυῖαν. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν
φόβον ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ
λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν θέμενος εἰς
τὸν στενωπόν, "Ἐμοὶ μέν," εἶπεν, "ὡς δυνατὸν
6 ἦν βεβοήθηται τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις." καὶ
τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε, καὶ τῶν φίλων φεύγειν
παραινούντων οὐ προσεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ ποιήματα γρά-
φων ὠνείδιζε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις·

Εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε λυγρὰ δι' ὑμετέρην κακότητα,
μή τι θεοῖς τούτων μῆνιν ἐπαμφέρετε.
αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ηὐξήσατε ῥύματα δόντες,
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἔσχετε δουλοσύνην.

XXXI. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πολλῶν νουθετούντων
αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποθανούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, καὶ

uproar, Megacles [1] straightway fled, with the rest of the Alcmaeonidae. But Solon, although he was now a very old man, and had none to support him, went nevertheless into the market-place and reasoned with the citizens, partly blaming their folly and weakness, and partly encouraging them still and exhorting them not to abandon their liberty. Then it was, too, that he uttered the famous saying, that earlier it had been easier for them to hinder the tyranny, while it was in preparation; but now it was a greater and more glorious task to uproot and destroy it when it had been already planted and was grown. No one had the courage to side with him, however, and so he retired to his own house, took his arms, and placed them in the street in front of his door, saying: "I have done all I can to help my country and its laws." [2] From that time on he lived in quiet retirement, and when his friends urged him to fly, he paid no heed to them, but kept on writing poems, in which he heaped reproaches on the Athenians:—

"If now ye suffer grievously through cowardice all your own,
Cherish no wrath against the gods for this,
For ye yourselves increased the usurper's power by giving him a guard,
And therefore are ye now in base subjection." [3]

XXXI. In view of this, many warned him that the tyrant would put him to death, and asked him on

[1] Grandson of the Megacles who brought the taint of pollution upon the family (chapter xii. 1–3). He had been allowed to return from banishment.

[2] It was for others now to do the same. Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiv. 2. [3] Fragment 11 (Bergk), verses 1–4.

πυνθανομένων τίνι πιστεύων οὕτως ἀπονοεῖται, "Τῷ γήρᾳ," εἶπεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως ἐξεθεράπευσε τὸν Σόλωνα, τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος, ὥστε καὶ σύμβουλον εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρασσομένων ἐπαινεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐφύλαττε τοὺς πλείστους νόμους τοῦ Σόλωνος, ἐμμένων πρῶτος αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς φίλους
2 ἀναγκάζων· ὅς γε καὶ φόνου προσκληθεὶς εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον, ἤδη τυραννῶν, ἀπήντησε κοσμίως ἀπολογησόμενος, ὁ δὲ κατήγορος οὐχ ὑπήκουσε· καὶ νόμους αὐτὸς ἑτέρους ἔγραψεν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ ὁ τοὺς πηρωθέντας ἐν πολέμῳ δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι κελεύων. τοῦτο δέ φησιν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ Θερσίππῳ πηρωθέντι τοῦ Σόλωνος ψηφισαμένου μιμήσασθαι τὸν Πεισίστρατον. ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος ἱστόρηκε, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀργίας νόμον οὐ Σόλων ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ Πεισίστρατος, ᾧ τήν τε χώραν ἐνεργοτέραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠρεμαιοτέραν ἐποίησεν.

3 Ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἁψάμενος μεγάλης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν λόγον ἢ μῦθον πραγματείας, ὃν διήκουσε τῶν περὶ Σάϊν λογίων προσήκοντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξέκαμεν, οὐ δι' ἀσχολίαν, ὡς Πλάτων φησίν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ γήρως, φοβηθεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς γραφῆς. ἐπεὶ σχολῆς

what he relied that he was so lost to all sense, to which he answered, "My old age." However, when Peisistratus had become master of the situation, he paid such court to Solon by honouring him, showing him kindness, and inviting him to his palace, that Solon actually became his counsellor and approved of many of his acts. For he retained most of Solon's laws, observing them first himself, and compelling his friends to do so. For instance, he was summoned before the Areiopagus on a charge of murder, when he was already tyrant, and presented himself there to make his defence in due form, but his accuser did not put in an appearance. He also made other laws himself, one of which provides that those who are maimed in war shall be maintained at the public charge. But Heracleides says that even before that Solon had caused a decree to be passed to this effect in the case of Thersippus, who had been so maimed, and that Peisistratus was following his example. Moreover, Theophrastus writes that the law against idleness, in consequence of which the country became more productive and the city more tranquil, was not made by Solon, but by Peisistratus.

Now Solon, after beginning his great work on the story or fable of the lost Atlantis, which, as he had heard from the learned men of Saïs,[1] particularly concerned the Athenians, abandoned it, not for lack of leisure, as Plato says, but rather because of his old age, fearing the magnitude of the task. For

[1] Cf. chapter xxvi. 1. There is no trace of any such work of Solon's, and the attribution of it to him is probably a play of Plato's fancy.

γε περιουσίαν αὐτοῦ μηνύουσιν αἱ τοιαῦται φωναί·

Γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος·

καί,

Ἔργα δὲ Κυπρογενοῦς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διονύσου
καὶ Μουσέων, ἃ τίθησ' ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας.

XXXII. Ὡς δὲ χώρας καλῆς ἔδαφος ὁ Πλάτων ἔρημον, αὐτῷ δέ πως κατὰ συγγένειαν προσῆκον, ἐξεργάσασθαι καὶ διακοσμῆσαι φιλοτιμούμενος τὴν Ἀτλαντικὴν ὑπόθεσιν, πρόθυρα μὲν μεγάλα καὶ περιβόλους καὶ αὐλὰς τῇ ἀρχῇ περιέθηκεν, οἷα λόγος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔσχεν οὐδὲ μῦθος οὐδὲ
2 ποίησις, ὀψὲ δὲ ἀρξάμενος προκατέλυσε τοῦ ἔργου τὸν βίον, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον εὐφραίνει τὰ γεγραμμένα, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσιν ἀνιάσας. ὡς γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον, οὕτως ἡ Πλάτωνος σοφία τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἐν πολλοῖς καλοῖς μόνον ἔργον ἀτελὲς ἔσχηκεν.

3 Ἐπεβίωσε δ' οὖν ὁ Σόλων ἀρξαμένου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τυραννεῖν, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, συχνὸν χρόνον, ὡς δὲ Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος, ἐλάττονα δυοῖν ἐτῶν. ἐπὶ Κωμίου 97
μὲν γὰρ ἤρξατο τυραννεῖν Πεισίστρατος, ἐφ' Ἡγεστράτου δὲ Σόλωνά φησιν ὁ Φανίας ἀπο-

that he had abundant leisure, such verses as these testify :—

"But I grow old ever learning many things;" [1]

and again,

"But now the works of the Cyprus-born goddess are dear to my soul,
Of Dionysus, too, and the Muses, which impart delights to men." [2]

XXXII. Plato, ambitious to elaborate and adorn the subject of the lost Atlantis, as if it were the soil of a fair estate unoccupied, but appropriately his by virtue of some kinship with Solon,[3] began the work by laying out great porches, enclosures, and courtyards, such as no story, tale, or poesy ever had before. But he was late in beginning, and ended his life before his work.[4] Therefore the greater our delight in what he actually wrote, the greater is our distress in view of what he left undone. For as the Olympieium in the city of Athens, so the tale of the lost Atlantis in the wisdom of Plato is the only one among many beautiful works to remain unfinished.

Well, then, Solon lived on after Peisistratus had made himself tyrant, as Heracleides Ponticus states, a long time; but as Phanias of Eresos says, less than two years. For it was in the archonship of Comeas [5] that Peisistratus began his tyranny, and Phanias says that Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus,

[1] Cf. chapter ii. 2. [2] Fragment 26 (Bergk).
[3] Plato mentions the relationship of Critias, his maternal uncle, with Solon (*Charmides*, p. 155 a).
[4] Plato's *Critias* is a splendid fragment. [5] 561–60 B.C.

4 θανεῖν τοῦ μετὰ Κωμίαν ἄρξαντος. ἡ δὲ διασπορὰ κατακαυθέντος αὐτοῦ τῆς τέφρας περὶ τὴν Σαλαμινίων νῆσον ἔστι μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν ἀπίθανος παντάπασι καὶ μυθώδης, ἀναγέγραπται δ' ὑπό τε ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἀξιολόγων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

the successor of Comeas. The story that his body was burned and his ashes scattered on the island of Salamis is strange enough to be altogether incredible and fabulous, and yet it is given by noteworthy authors, and even by Aristotle the philosopher.

PUBLICOLA

ΠΟΠΛΙΚΟΛΑΣ

I. Τοιούτῳ δὴ γενομένῳ τῷ Σόλωνι τὸν Ποπλικόλαν παραβάλλομεν, ᾧ τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἐξεῦρεν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοὔνομα, πρὸ τοῦ δὲ Πόπλιος Οὐαλλέριος ἐκαλεῖτο, Οὐαλλερίου δοκῶν ἀπόγονος εἶναι τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρὸς αἰτιωτάτου γενομένου Ῥωμαίους καὶ Σαβίνους ἐκ πολεμίων ἕνα γενέσθαι δῆμον· ὁ γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλεῖς εἰς ταὐτὸ πείσας συνελθεῖν καὶ
2 διαλλάξας ἐκεῖνός ἐστι. τούτῳ δὴ κατὰ γένος προσήκων ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ὥς φασι, βασιλευομένης μὲν ἔτι τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιφανὴς ἦν διὰ λόγον καὶ πλοῦτον, ὧν τῷ μὲν ὀρθῶς καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας ἀεὶ χρώμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐλευθερίως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐπαρκῶν, δῆλος ἦν εὐθύς, εἰ γένοιτο δημοκρατία, πρωτεύσων.
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ταρκύνιον Σούπερβον οὔτε λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνοσίως καὶ παρανόμως, οὔτε χρώμενον αὐτῇ βασιλικῶς, ἀλλ' ὑβρίζοντα καὶ τυραννοῦντα, μισῶν ὁ δῆμος καὶ βαρυνόμενος, ἀρχὴν ἀποστάσεως ἔλαβε τὸ Λουκρητίας πάθος αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ βιασθῆναι διεργασαμένης, καὶ Λεύκιος Βροῦτος ἁπτόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων

PUBLICOLA

I. Such was Solon, and with him we compare Publicola, to whom the Roman people gave this surname later as a mark of honour. Before that he was called Publius Valerius, and was reputed to be a decendant of that ancient Valerius who was most instrumental in making the Romans and the Sabines one people instead of enemies ; for it was he more than anyone else that persuaded their kings to come together, and settled their differences. Such being his lineage, Valerius, as we are told, while Rome was still a kingdom, was conspicuous for his eloquence and wealth, always employing the one with integrity and boldness in the service of justice, while with the other he gave liberal and kindly aid to the poor and needy. It was therefore clear that, should Rome become a democracy, he would at once be one of its foremost men.

Now Tarquinius Superbus had not acquired his power honourably, but by the violation of divine and human laws ; nor did he exercise it in kingly fashion, but after the manner of an insolent and haughty tyrant. The people therefore hated him, resented his oppressions, and found occasion for revolt in the fate of Lucretia, who made away with herself after violence had been done to her. Lucius Brutus, engaging in the revolution, came to

τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἦλθε τὸν Οὐαλλέριον καὶ χρησάμενος αὐτῷ προθυμοτάτῳ συνεξέβαλε
4 τοὺς βασιλεῖς, μέχρι μὲν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὁ δῆμος ἕνα χειροτονήσειν ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγόν, ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ὡς τῷ Βρούτῳ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν προσῆκον ἡγεμόνι τῆς ἐλευθερίας γεγενημένῳ· δυσχεραινομένου δὲ τοῦ τῆς μοναρχίας ὀνόματος, καὶ δοκοῦντος ἂν ἀλυπότερον τοῦ δήμου μερισθεῖσαν ὑπομεῖναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύο προβαλλομένου καὶ καλοῦντος, ἐλπίζων μετὰ τὸν Βροῦτον αἱρεθήσεσθαι καὶ συνυπατεύσειν διήμαρτεν. ῥήθη γὰρ ἄκοντι τῷ Βρούτῳ συνάρχων ἀντὶ τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου Ταρκύνιος Κολλατῖνος, ὁ Λουκρητίας ἀνήρ, οὐδὲν ἀρετῇ Οὐαλλερίου διαφέρων, ἀλλ' οἱ δυνατοὶ δεδιότες τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἔτι πολλὰ πειρῶντας ἔξωθεν καὶ μαλάσσοντας τὴν πόλιν, ἐβούλοντο τὸν ἐντονώτατον αὐτοῖς ἐχθρὸν ἔχειν στρατηγὸν ὡς οὐχ ὑφησόμενον.

II. Ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, εἰ μὴ πιστεύεται πάντα πράττειν ἕνεκα τῆς πατρίδος, ὅτι μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ κακὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων πέπονθε, τῆς τε βουλῆς ἀπέστη καὶ τὰς συνηγορίας ἀπεῖπε καὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ παντελῶς ἐξέλιπεν, ὥστε καὶ λόγον τοῖς πολλοῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ φροντίδα, φοβουμένοις μὴ δι' ὀργὴν προσθέμενος τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν 98
2 πόλιν ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχουσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς

Valerius first of all, and with his most zealous assistance drove out the kings.[1] Then, as long as the people was likely to elect one man as their commander in place of the king, Valerius acquiesced, thinking it more fitting that Brutus should have the office, because he had led the way to freedom. But the very name of monarchy was odious to the people, who thought that it would be less vexatious to submit to an authority which was divided, and therefore proposed and demanded that two men should be elected to the highest office. Then Valerius, who hoped that he would be chosen next to Brutus, and would be consul with him, was disappointed. For against the wishes of Brutus, Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was elected as his colleague,[2] instead of Valerius. He was a man of no greater excellence than Valerius, but the influential citizens were afraid of the kings, who were still putting forth many efforts outside, and trying to appease resentment inside the city, and they therefore desired to have as their commander the most pronounced enemy of the royal family, believing that he would make no concessions to them.

II. Valerius, accordingly, vexed that his desire to do his utmost for his country should be doubted, merely because he had received no private injury at the hands of the tyrants, withdrew from the senate, gave up his practice as an advocate, and abandoned entirely his public activities. This caused anxious remark among the multitude. They feared lest, in his wrath, he should attach himself to the royal exiles, and subvert the established order of the city, which was in a dangerous pass. But when Brutus,

[1] Cf. Livy, i. 58 f.; ii. 2, 11. [2] Cf. Livy, i. 60, 4.

ἑτέρους τινὰς ὑποψίαν ἔχων ὁ Βροῦτος ἐβούλετο διὰ σφαγίων ὁρκῶσαι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ προεῖπεν ἡμέραν, καταβὰς μάλα φαιδρὸς εἰς ἀγορὰν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, καὶ πρῶτος ὀμόσας μηδὲν ἐνδώσειν μηδ' ὑφήσεσθαι Ταρκυνίοις, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσειν κατὰ κράτος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἡδονήν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ θάρσος ἅμα τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρέσχεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔργα τὸν ὅρκον ἐβεβαίου. 3 πρέσβεις γὰρ ἦκον ἀπὸ Ταρκυνίου γράμματα κομίζοντες ἐπαγωγὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ λόγους ἐπιεικεῖς, οἷς μάλιστα τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾤοντο διαφθείρειν, λεγομένοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἀφεικέναι τὸ φρόνημα καὶ μετρίων δεῖσθαι δοκοῦντος. τούτους εἰς τὸ πλῆθος οἰομένων δεῖν τῶν ὑπάτων προαγαγεῖν οὐκ εἴασεν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ἀλλ' ἐνέστη καὶ διεκώλυσεν ἀνθρώποις πένησι καὶ βαρυνομένοις μᾶλλον τῆς τυραννίδος τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχὰς καὶ προφάσεις νεωτερισμῶν ἐγγενέσθαι.

III. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρέσβεις ἦκον ἕτεροι τῆς τε βασιλείας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ πολεμοῦντα παύσασθαι τὸν Ταρκύνιον λέγοντες, ἀπαιτεῖν δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῷ καὶ φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις, ἀφ' ὧν διαβιώσονται φεύγοντες. ἐπικλωμένων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Κολλατίνου συναγορεύοντος, ἄτρεπτος ὢν ἀνὴρ καὶ τραχὺς ὀργὴν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐξέδραμεν εἰς ἀγοράν, προδότην ἀποκαλῶν τὸν συνάρχοντα, πολέμου καὶ τυραννίδος ἀφορμὰς χαριζόμενον οἷς δεινὸν ἦν ὄντως 2 ἐφόδια φυγῆς ψηφίσασθαι. συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν πρῶτος ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ εἶπεν ἐν δήμῳ τότε

who had his suspicions of certain others also, desired the senators to take a sacrificial oath, and set a day for the ceremony, Valerius went down with a glad countenance into the forum, and was the first to take oath that he would make no submission or concession to the Tarquins, but would fight with all his might in defence of freedom. This pleased the senate and inspired the consuls with courage. And his actions speedily confirmed his oath. For envoys came from Tarquin bringing letters calculated to seduce the people, and specious words by which they thought the multitude were most likely to be corrupted, coming as they did from a king who seemed to have humbled himself, and to ask only moderate terms. These envoys the consuls thought should be brought before the assembled people, but Valerius would not suffer it. He was unalterably opposed to giving poor men, who considered war a greater burden than tyranny, occasions and excuses for revolution.

III. After this, other envoys came announcing that Tarquin abdicated his throne and ceased to wage war upon the city, but demanded for himself, his friends, and his kinsmen, their moneys and effects,[1] wherewith to maintain themselves in exile. Many were inclined to grant this favour, and Collatinus in particular joined in advocating it, but Brutus, a man of harsh and unyielding temper, ran forth into the forum and denounced his colleague as a traitor, because he would bestow the means for waging war and maintaining tyranny on men to whom it were a terrible mistake to vote even a bare subsistence in exile. And when an assembly of the citizens was held, the first to speak among them

[1] Cf. Livy, ii. 3, 5.

Γάϊος Μινούκιος, τῷ τε Βρούτῳ διακελευόμενος καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παραινῶν ὁρᾶν ὅπως τὰ χρήματα μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντα πολεμοίη πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους μᾶλλον ἢ μετ' ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτούς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔδοξε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχουσιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐπολέμουν, μὴ προέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἕνεκα χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαλεῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς τυράννοις.

Ἦν δὲ ἄρα Ταρκυνίῳ λόγος μὲν ἐλάχιστος τῶν χρημάτων, ἡ δ' ἀπαίτησις ἅμα πεῖρα τοῦ
3 δήμου καὶ κατασκευὴ προδοσίας. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων προφάσει, τὰ μὲν ἀποδίδοσθαι, τὰ δὲ φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ἀποπέμπειν φάσκοντες, ἄχρι οὗ διέφθειραν οἴκους δύο τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν νομιζομένων, τὸν Ἀκυλλίων τρεῖς ἔχοντα βουλευτὰς καὶ δύο τὸν Οὐϊτελλίων. οὗτοι πάντες ἦσαν ἀπὸ μητέρων ἀδελφιδοῖ Κολλατίνου τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Οὐϊτελλίοις ἑτέρα πρὸς Βροῦτον οἰκειότης ὑπῆρχεν. ἀδελφὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν
4 ὁ Βροῦτος εἶχε καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς πλείονας· ὧν δύο τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ συγγενεῖς ὄντας ἅμα καὶ συνήθεις οἱ Οὐϊτέλλιοι προσηγάγοντο καὶ συνέπεισαν ἐν τῇ προδοσίᾳ γενέσθαι καὶ καταμίξαντας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς γένος μέγα τὸ τῶν Ταρκυνίων καὶ βασιλικὰς ἐλπίδας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀβελτερίας καὶ χαλεπότητος· χαλεπότητα μὲν τὸ ἀπαραίτητον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς λέγοντες, τῇ δ' ἀβελτερίᾳ προσποιή-

was Caius Minucius, a private man, who exhorted Brutus and advised the Romans to see to it that the treasures fought with them against the tyrants, rather than with the tyrants against them. However, the Romans decided that, since they had the liberty for which they were at war, they would not sacrifice peace for the sake of wealth, but cast this also out along with the tyrants.[1]

Now the wealth, of course, was of very slight consequence to Tarquin, but the demand for it was at once a test of the people's disposition and a means of instigating treachery among them. And it was with this that the envoys busied themselves, making the property merely a pretext for remaining in the city, and saying that they were selling part of it, and reserving part, and sending part of it away. At last they succeeded in corrupting two of the noble families of Rome, that of the Aquillii, which had three senators, and that of the Vitellii, which had two. All these, by the mother's side, were nephews of Collatinus the consul, and besides, the Vitellii were related in another manner to Brutus. For Brutus had married a sister of theirs, and she had borne him several sons. Two of these, who had come to manhood, and were their near kindred and close companions, the Vitellii won over and persuaded to join the plot for betraying the city, to ally themselves with the great family and the royal expectations of the Tarquins, and rid themselves of the stupidity and cruelty of their father. For they gave the name of cruelty to that father's inexorable treatment of criminals, and as for his stupidity, he had for a long time, as it appears, feigned and

[1] Cf. Livy, ii. 4, 3.

ματι καὶ παρακαλύμματι πολὺν χρόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, χρησάμενος ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους, οὐδ' ὕστερον ἔφυγεν αὐτῆς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

IV. Ὡς δ' οὖν συνεπείσθη τὰ μειράκια καὶ τοῖς Ἀκυλλίοις εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν, ὅρκον ὀμόσαι μέγαν ἔδοξε πᾶσι καὶ δεινόν, ἀνθρώπου σφαγέντος ἐπισπείσαντας αἷμα καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων θιγόντας. ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰς τὴν Ἀκυλλίων οἰκίαν συνῆλθον. ἦν δ' ὁ οἶκος, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα δράσειν ἔμελλον, οἷον εἰκός, ὑπέρημος καὶ σκοτώδης. ἔλαθεν οὖν αὐτοὺς οἰκέτης ὄνομα Οὐινδίκιος ἔνδον κατακρύψας ἑαυτόν, οὐ κατ' ἐπιβουλὴν 99
2 ἢ προαίσθησίν τινα τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἀλλ' ἔνδον ὢν ἔτυχε καὶ προσιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς μετὰ σπουδῆς ὀφθῆναι φοβηθεὶς ὑπέστη, λάρνακα κειμένην πρὸ αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος, ὥστε καὶ τῶν πραττομένων θεατὴς γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐπήκοος. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα δηλούσας γράψαντες ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἔδωκαν τοῖς πρέσβεσι· καὶ γὰρ ᾤκουν αὐτόθι, τῶν Ἀκυλλίων ξένοι γεγονότες, καὶ τότε τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ παρῆσαν.

3 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα πράξαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, ὑπεξελθὼν ὁ Οὐινδίκιος λάθρα, χρήσασθαι τοῖς προσπεσοῦσιν οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἠπορεῖτο, δεινὸν μὲν ἡγούμενος, ὥσπερ ἦν, πρὸς πατέρα Βροῦτον υἱῶν ἐξάγιστα κατηγορεῖν ἢ πρὸς θεῖον ἀδελφιδῶν τὸν Κολλατῖνον, ἰδιώτην δὲ Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα νο-

assumed this, to insure his safety from the cruel designs of the tyrants, and afterwards the surname of Brutus, which had been given him for it, clung to him.

IV. When, accordingly, the youths had been persuaded and held conference with the Aquillii, it was decided that all the conspirators should swear a great and dreadful oath, pouring in libation the blood of a slain man, and touching his entrails. For this purpose they met at the house of the Aquillii.[1] Now the room in which the ceremony was to be held was, as was natural, dark and somewhat desolate. Without their knowing it, therefore, a slave named Vindicius had concealed himself therein, not with design, or with any inkling of what was to happen there; he merely chanced to be there, and when they came in with anxious haste, he was afraid to be seen by them, and hid himself behind a chest that lay there, so that he saw what they did, and heard what they resolved upon. Their decision was to kill the consuls, and when they had written letters to Tarquin to this effect, they gave them to his envoys, who were living there as guests of the Aquillii, and were then present at the conspiracy.

Their business transacted, the conspirators departed, and then Vindicius stole secretly away from the house. He knew not what use to make of what had befallen him, but was at a loss, considering it a dreadful thing, as it really was, to arraign the sons of Brutus before their father, or the nephews of Collatinus before their uncle, on the most abominable charges, and yet believing that no Roman in a private station could be entrusted with such im-

[1] At the house of the Vitellii, according to Livy, ii. 4, 5.

4 μίζων ἐχέγγυον ἀπορρήτων τηλικούτων. πᾶν δ' αὖ μᾶλλον ἢ δυνατὸς ὢν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἐλαυνόμενος δὲ τῷ συνειδότι τοῦ πράγματος, ὥρμησέ πως πρὸς τὸν Οὐαλλέριον, μάλιστα τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ φιλανθρώποις[1] ἐπαχθεὶς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅτι πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος ἦν τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀεὶ παρεῖχεν ἀνεῳγμένην, καὶ λόγον οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ χρείαν ἀπερρίπτει τῶν ταπεινῶν.

V. Ὡς οὖν ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Οὐινδίκιος καὶ κατεῖπε πάντα, Μάρκου τε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παρόντος αὐτῷ μόνου καὶ τῆς γυναικός, ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ δείσας ὁ Οὐαλλέριος οὐκέτι προήκατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ κατακλείσας εἰς τὸ οἴκημα καὶ φύλακα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ταῖς θύραις ἐπιστήσας, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε τὴν βασιλικὴν ἔπαυλιν περισχόντα τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν, ἂν δυνατὸν ᾖ, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας παραφυλάττειν· αὐτὸς δὲ πελατῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ φίλων ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων καὶ θεραπείας συχνῆς, ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν Ἀκυλλίων οὐκ ἔνδον ὄντων.
2 διὸ μηδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος ὡσάμενος διὰ θυρῶν ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς γράμμασι κειμένοις ὅπου κατέλυον οἱ πρέσβεις. ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ πράττοντος οἱ Ἀκύλλιοι δρόμῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ περὶ τὰς θύρας συμμίξαντες ἐζήτουν ἀφελέσθαι τὰς ἐπιστολάς. οἱ δ' ἠμύνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια περιβαλόντες αὐτῶν τοῖς τραχήλοις ὑπὸ βίας καὶ μόλις ὠθούμενοι καὶ ὠθοῦντες διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλον. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἔπαυλιν ἅμα τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐγίνετο, τοῦ Μάρκου γραμμάτων ἑτέρων ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι κομιζομένων

[1] φιλανθρώποις Bekker supplies τρόποις, after Porson.

portant secrets. The last thing that he could do, however, was to hold his peace, and driven on by his knowledge of the affair, he made his way somehow to Valerius, attracted especially by the affable and kindly ways of the man.[1] For he was easily accessible to all the needy, always kept open house, and never refused to hear or help one of the lowly.

V. Accordingly, when Vindicius came to him and told him the whole story, in the presence of his brother Marcus only, and of his wife, Valerius was struck with consternation and fear, and would not now let the man go, but shut him up in a room and set his own wife to guard the door. Then he ordered his brother to surround the royal residence, seize the letters, if possible, and take the servants into custody. He himself, with the numerous clients and friends who were always about him, and with a large company of retainers, went to the house of the Aquillii, who were not at home. Therefore, to the surprise of everybody, he forced the door, and came upon the letters lying in the quarters where the envoys were lodging. Meantime the Aquillii came up in hot haste, joined battle at the door, and sought to take away the letters. But Valerius and his party resisted the attack, threw their togas about their opponents' necks, and after much struggling on both sides, at last succeeded in pushing them through the streets into the forum. The same success was had at the royal residence, where Marcus laid hands on other letters which were to be conveyed away in the baggage, seized as many

[1] Vindicius laid the matter before the consuls, according to Livy, ii. 4, 6.

ἐπιλαμβανομένου, καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὅσους δυνατὸς ἦν ἕλκοντος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν θόρυβον κατέπαυσαν οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου κελεύσαντος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὁ Οὐινδίκιος προήχθη, καὶ γενομένης κατηγορίας ἀνεγνώσθη τὰ γράμματα καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησαν ἀντειπεῖν οἱ ἄνδρες, ἦν μὲν κατήφεια καὶ σιωπὴ τῶν ἄλλων, ὀλίγοι δὲ βουλόμενοι τῷ Βρούτῳ χαρίζεσθαι φυγῆς ἐμέμνηντο. καί τι καὶ Κολλατῖνος αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδος ἐπιεικοῦς ἐνεδίδου δεδακρυμένος καὶ Οὐαλλέριος σιωπῶν. ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ὀνομαστὶ τῶν υἱῶν ἑκάτερον προσειπών, "Ἄγε," εἶπεν, "ἄγε, ὦ Τίτε," εἶπεν, "ἄγε, ὦ Τιβέριε, τί οὐκ
2 ἀπολογεῖσθε πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν;" ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο τρὶς ἐρωτηθέντες, οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἀποστρέψας τὸ πρόσωπον, "Ὑμέτερον ἤδη," εἶπε, "τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον." οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς συλλαβόντες τοὺς νεανίσκους περιερρήγνυον τὰ ἱμάτια, τὰς χεῖρας ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω, ῥάβδοις
3 ἔξαινον τὰ σώματα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ δυναμένων προσορᾶν οὐδὲ καρτερούντων, ἐκεῖνον δὲ λέγεται μήτε τὰς ὄψεις ἀπαγαγεῖν ἀλλαχόσε μήτ' οἰκτῳ τι τρέψαι τῆς περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὀργῆς καὶ βαρύτητος, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν ἐνορᾶν κολαζομένοις τοῖς παισὶν ἄχρι οὗ κατατείναντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὔδαφος πελέκει τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέκοψαν. οὕτω δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τῷ συνάρχοντι ποιησάμενος ὤχετ' ἐξαναστάς, ἔργον εἰργασμένος οὔτ' ἐπαινεῖν βουλομένοις ἀξίως οὔτε ψέγειν
4 ἐφικτόν. ἢ γὰρ ἀρετῆς ὕψος εἰς ἀπάθειαν ἐξέστησε τὴν ψυχήν, ἢ πάθους μέγεθος εἰς ἀναλ-

of the king's people as he could, and haled them to the forum.

VI. When the consuls had quieted the tumult, Valerius ordered Vindicius to be brought from his house, the denunciation was made, the letters were read aloud, and the accused had no courage to reply. Most of the people held their peace for very sorrow, but a few spoke of exile as a penalty, wishing to do Brutus a kindness. They were also somewhat encouraged to hope by the tears of Collatinus and the silence of Valerius. But Brutus, calling each of his sons by name, said: "Come, Titus, come Tiberius, why do ye not defend yourselves against this denunciation?" But when they made no answer, though he put his question to them thrice, he turned to the lictors and said: "It is yours now to do the rest." These straightway seized the young men, tore off their togas, bound their hands behind their backs, and scourged their bodies with their rods. The rest could not endure to look upon the sight, but it is said that the father neither turned his gaze away, nor allowed any pity to soften the stern wrath that sat upon his countenance, but watched the dreadful punishment of his sons until the lictors threw them on the ground and cut off their heads with the axe. Then he rose and went away, after committing the other culprits to the judgement of his colleague.[1] He had done a deed which it is difficult for one either to praise or blame sufficiently. For either the loftiness of his virtue made his spirit incapable of suffering, or else the magnitude of his

[1] With this account, compare Livy, ii. 5, 5–9. Brutus looked on "eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium."

γησίαν. οὐδέτερον δὲ μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀνθρώπινον, ἀλλ' ἢ θεῖον ἢ θηριῶδες. δίκαιον δὲ τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἔπεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσθενείᾳ τοῦ κρίνοντος ἀπιστεῖσθαι. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔργον οἴονται Ῥωμύλου γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἵδρυσιν, ὅσον Βρούτου τὴν κτίσιν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ κατάστασιν.

VII. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἀπῆλθεν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τότε, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἔκπληξις εἶχε καὶ φρίκη καὶ σιωπὴ πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις· πρὸς δὲ τὴν Κολλατίνου μαλακίαν καὶ μέλλησιν ἀνεθάρρησαν οἱ Ἀκύλλιοι, καὶ χρόνον ἠξίουν λαβόντες ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Οὐινδίκιον αὐτοῖς ἀποδοθῆναι δοῦλον ὄντα, καὶ μὴ παρὰ τοῖς κατηγόροις
2 εἶναι. βουλομένου δὲ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν καὶ διαλύοντος ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ Οὐαλλέριος οὔτε τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἷός τ' ἦν ἀφεῖναι τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλῳ καταμεμιγμένον, οὔτε τὸν δῆμον εἴα προέμενον τοὺς προδότας ἀπελθεῖν. τέλος δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπιβαλὼν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν Βροῦτον, καὶ τὸν Κολλατῖνον ἐβόα δεινὰ ποιεῖν, εἰ τῷ συνάρχοντι παιδοφονίας ἀνάγκην προστριψάμενος αὐτὸς οἴεται δεῖν καταχαρίζεσθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοὺς προδότας καὶ πολεμίους τῆς
3 πατρίδος. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπάγεσθαι τὸν Οὐινδίκιον, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται διωσάμενοι τὸν ὄχλον ἥπτοντο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοὺς ἀφαιρουμένους ἔτυπτον, οἱ

suffering made it insensible to pain. In neither case was his act a trivial one, or natural to a man, but either god-like or brutish. However, it is right that our verdict should accord with the reputation of the man, rather than that his virtue should be discredited through weakness in the judge. For the Romans think that the work of Romulus in building the city was not so great as that of Brutus in founding and establishing its form of government.

VII. After Brutus had left the forum at this time, for a long while consternation, horror, and silence prevailed among all who remained, as they thought of what had been done. But soon the weakness and hesitation of Collatinus gave the Aquillii fresh courage ; they demanded time in which to make their defence, and the surrender of Vindicius to them, since he was their slave, and ought not to be in the hands of their accusers. Collatinus was willing to grant this request, and was about to dissolve the assembly with this understanding ; but Valerius was neither able to surrender the slave, who had mingled with the throng about him, nor would he suffer the people to release the traitors and withdraw. So at last he seized the persons of the Aquillii and summoned Brutus to the scene, crying aloud that Collatinus was acting shamefully in laying upon his colleague the necessity of killing his own sons, and then thinking it necessary for himself to bestow upon their wives the lives of his country's betrayers and foes. The consul was indignant at this, and ordered that Vindicius should be taken away, whereupon the lictors pushed their way through the crowd, seized the man, and beat those who tried to rescue him. Then Valerius and his

δὲ φίλοι τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου προέστησαν ἀμυνόμενοι· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐβόα κελεύων παρεῖναι τὸν Βροῦτον. ἦκεν οὖν αὖθις ὑποστρέψας· καὶ γενομένης αὐτῷ σιωπῆς εἶπεν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν υἱοῖς αὐτὸς ἀποχρῶν ἦν δικαστής, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς πολίταις ἐλευθέροις οὖσι ψῆφον δίδωσι· λεγέτω δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ πειθέτω τὸν δῆμον. οὐκέτι μέντοι λόγων ἐδέησεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ψήφου δοθείσης πάσαις ἁλόντες ἐπελεκίσθησαν.

4 Ὁ δὲ Κολλατῖνος ἦν μέν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν ὑποψίᾳ τινὶ καὶ διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν βασιλέων, ἤχθοντο δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀφοσιούμενοι τὸν Ταρκύνιον. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα συνέβη, παντάπασι προσκρούσας ἀφῆκε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑκὼν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθεν. οὕτω δὴ πάλιν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν γενομένων ὕπατος ἀπεδείχθη λαμπρῶς ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ἀξίαν ἀπολαβὼν τῆς προ-
5 θυμίας χάριν· ἧς οἰόμενός τι δεῖν ἀπολαῦσαι τὸν Οὐινδίκιον ἐψηφίσατο πρῶτον ἀπελεύθερον ἐκεῖνον ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι πολίτην καὶ φέρειν ψῆφον ᾗ βούλοιτο φρατρίᾳ προσνεμηθέντα. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπελευθέροις οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἐξουσίαν ψήφου δημαγωγῶν ἔδωκεν Ἄππιος· ἡ δὲ παντελὴς ἀπελευθέρωσις ἄχρι νῦν οὐινδίκτα λέγεται δι' ἐκεῖνον, ὥς φασι, τὸν Οὐινδίκιον.

VIII. Ἐκ τούτου τὰ μὲν χρήματα τῶν βασιλέων διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔδωκαν, τὴν δὲ

friends stood forth in the man's defence, while the people shouted for Brutus to come. He turned back, therefore, and came, and when silence had been made for him, said that for his sons, he himself sufficed as judge, but he would leave the fate of the other traitors to the votes of the citizens, who were free, and any one who wished might speak and try to persuade the people. However, by this time there was no need of oratory, but a vote was taken which unanimously condemned the men, and they were beheaded.

Collatinus, as it would seem, was already under some suspicion on account of his relationship to the royal family, and the second of his names also was hateful to the people, who loathed the sound of Tarquin. But after these recent events, he saw that he was altogether obnoxious, and therefore resigned his office and withdrew secretly from the city.[1] A new election was consequently held, and Valerius was triumphantly declared consul, thus receiving a worthy reward for his zeal. In this reward he thought that Vindicius ought to share, and therefore had a decree passed which made him, first of all freedmen, a citizen of Rome, and entitled him to vote with any curia in which he chose to be enrolled. Other freedmen received the right of suffrage in much later times from Appius,[2] who thus courted popularity. And from this Vindicius, as they say, a perfect manumission is to this day called "vindicta."[3]

VIII. After this, the property of the royal family was given to the Romans to plunder, and their house

[1] Cf. Livy, ii. 2, 3–10.
[2] Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 B.C.
[3] Cf. Livy, ii. 5, 10.

οἰκίαν κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν ἔπαυλιν· τοῦ δ' Ἀρείου πεδίου τὸ ἥδιστον ἐκέκτητο Ταρκύνιος, καὶ τοῦτο τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωσαν. ἔτυχε δὲ τεθερισμένου ἄρτι, καὶ κειμένων ἔτι τῶν δραγμάτων οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν ἁλοᾶν οὐδὲ χρῆσθαι διὰ τὴν καθιέρωσιν, ἀλλὰ συνδραμόντες ἐφόρουν τὰς
2 ἀμάλλας εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντες ἐνέβαλλον, ἀργὸν παντάπασι τὸ χωρίον ἀνιέντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἄκαρπον. ὠθουμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀθρόων ὑπήγαγεν ὁ ῥοῦς οὐ πολὺν τόπον, ἀλλ' ὅπου τὰ πρῶτα συνενεχθέντα καὶ περιπεσόντα τοῖς στερεοῖς ὑπέστη, τῶν ἐπιφερομένων διέξοδον οὐκ ἐχόντων, ἀλλ' ἐνισχομένων καὶ περιπλεκομένων, ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύμπηξις ἰσχὺν καὶ ῥίζωσιν αὐξανο- 10
3 μένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος. ἰλὺν τε γὰρ ἐπήγαγε πολλήν, ἣ προσισταμένη τροφὴν παρεῖχεν ἅμα καὶ κόλλησιν, αἵ τε πληγαὶ σάλον οὐκ ἐποίουν, ἀλλὰ μαλακῶς πιέζουσαι συνήλαυνον εἰς ταὐτὸ πάντα καὶ συνέπλαττον. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους καὶ στάσεως ἕτερον αὐτὸ μέγεθος ἐκτᾶτο καὶ χώραν ἀναδεχομένην τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφερομένων. τοῦτο νῦν νῆσός ἐστιν ἱερὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἔχει δὲ ναοὺς θεῶν καὶ περιπάτους, καλεῖται δὲ φωνῇ τῇ Λατίνων Μέση δυοῖν γεφυρῶν.

4 Ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο συμπεσεῖν ἱστοροῦσιν οὐχ ὅτε Ταρκυνίου καθιερώθη τὸ πεδίον, ἀλλὰ χρόνοις ὕστερον ἄλλο χωρίον ὁμοροῦν ἐκείνῳ Ταρκυνίας

and palace were razed to the ground. But the pleasantest part of the field of Mars, which had belonged to Tarquin, was dedicated to that god. Now it chanced that it had just been reaped, and the grain still lay upon the ground; but since the field had been consecrated, they thought it not right to thresh it or use it in any way. They therefore with one accord carried the sheaves to the river and cast them in. In like manner also they cast in the trees which had been cut, and left the place wholly untilled and barren for the god of war. The quantities of stuff thus heaped together were not borne along by the current very far, but the advanced portions stopped and accumulated at the shallows which they encountered. The portions that followed these could not get through them, but impinged upon them and blended inextricably with them, and the aggregation was made increasingly firm and fast by the action of the stream. For this brought along great quantities of mud, the addition of which increased the size and cohesion of the mass. And besides, the impacts of the current were not rude, but with a gentle pressure pushed and moulded everything together. Owing to its size and position the mass acquired fresh size, and an extent sufficient to receive most of what was brought down by the river. It is now a sacred island over against the city, containing temples of the gods and covered walks,[1] and is called in the Latin tongue "Inter duos pontes."

Some, however, say that this did not happen when the field of Tarquin was consecrated, but in later times, when Tarquinia devoted another field adjacent

[1] Cf. Livy, ii. 5, 1–4.

ἀνείσης. ἡ δὲ Ταρκυνία παρθένος ἦν ἱέρεια, μία τῶν Ἑστιάδων, ἔσχε δὲ τιμὰς ἀντὶ τούτου μεγάλας, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ τὸ μαρτυρίαν αὐτῆς δέχεσθαι μόνης γυναικῶν. τὸ δ' ἐξεῖναι γαμεῖσθαι ψηφισαμένων οὐ προσεδέξατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσι.

IX. Ταρκύνιον δὲ τὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἀπογνόντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνάληψιν ἐδέξαντο Τυρρηνοὶ προθύμως καὶ μεγάλῃ δυνάμει κατῆγον. ἀντεξῆγον δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οἱ ὕπατοι, καὶ παρέταξαν ἐν χωρίοις ἱεροῖς, ὧν τὸ μὲν Ἄρσιον[1] ἄλσος, τὸ δὲ Αἰσούειον λειμῶνα προσαγορεύουσιν. ἀρχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάγειν εἰς χεῖρας Ἄρρων ὁ Ταρκυνίου παῖς καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἀλλήλοις περιπεσόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἔχθους καὶ
2 ὀργῆς, ὁ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τύραννον καὶ πολέμιον τῆς πατρίδος, ὁ δὲ τῆς φυγῆς ἀμυνόμενος, ὥρμησαν ὁμόσε τοῖς ἵπποις. θυμῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῷ προσμίξαντες ἠφείδησαν αὑτῶν καὶ συναπέθανον ἀλλήλοις. οὕτω δὲ δεινοῦ γενομένου τοῦ προάγωνος οὐκ ἔσχεν ὁ ἀγὼν τέλος ἐπιεικέστερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δράσαντες ἴσα καὶ παθόντες οἱ στρατοὶ διεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος.
3 Ἦν οὖν ἐν ἀπόροις ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὸ τῆς μάχης πέρας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁρῶν τοῖς μὲν αὑτῶν νεκροῖς ἀθυμοῦντας, ἐπαιρομένους δὲ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων· οὕτως ἄκριτος ἦν καὶ

[1] Ἄρσιον Amyot, Coraës, Bekker, after Livy's *silva Arsia* (ii. 7, 2) : Οὖρσον.

to this. Now Tarquinia was a holy virgin, one of the Vestals, and received great honours for this act, among which was this, that of all women her testimony alone should be received. The people also voted her permission to marry, but she did not avail herself of it. This is how the thing happened, as the tale runs.

IX. But Tarquin, despairing of attempts to regain his throne by treachery, was eagerly welcomed by the Tuscans,[1] who set out to restore him with a great force. The consuls led the Romans out to meet them, and arrayed their forces in certain sacred precincts, one of which was called the Arsian grove, the other the Aesuvian meadow. When the engagement began, Aruns the son of Tarquin and Brutus the Roman consul encountered each other. It was not by chance, but both were driven on by hatred and wrath, the one to attack a tyrant and foe of his country, the other to avenge himself on the author of his exile. They urged their horses to the combat, but since they engaged with fury rather than calculation, they were reckless of themselves, and fell by one another's hands. The battle which had such a dreadful beginning, ended no less disastrously; the armies, after inflicting and suffering equal losses, were separated by a tempest.[2]

Valerius was therefore in perplexity, not knowing what the issue of the battle was, but seeing his soldiers as much disheartened by their own losses as they were encouraged by those of their enemies. So undistinguishable and equal was the slaughter on

[1] By the people of Veii and Tarquinii, according to Livy, ii. 6, 4 f.

[2] According to Livy (ii. 7, 1), the Tuscans departed in terror after the battle.

παράλληλος ὑπὸ πλήθους ὁ φόνος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἑκατέροις ἐγγύθεν ὁρώμενα τὰ οἰκεῖα μᾶλλον ἐβεβαίου τὴν ἧτταν ἢ τὴν νίκην εἰκαζόμενα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ἐπελθούσης δὲ νυκτὸς οἵαν εἰκὸς οὕτω μεμαχημένοις, καὶ γενομένων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν στρατοπέδων, λέγουσι σεισθῆναι τὸ ἄλσος, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἐκπεσεῖν μεγάλην φράζουσαν ὡς ἐνὶ πλείους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τεθνήκασι Τυρρηνῶν ἢ Ῥωμαίων. ἦν δ' ἄρα θεῖόν τι τὸ φθεγξάμενον· εὐθύς τε γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀλαλάξαι παρέστη μέγα καὶ θαρραλέον, οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ περίφοβοι γενόμενοι καὶ συνταραχθέντες ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ διεσπάρησαν οἱ πλεῖστοι· τοὺς δὲ καταλειφθέντας ὀλίγῳ πεντακισχιλίων ἐλάσσους ἐπελθόντες εἷλον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τἆλλα διήρπασαν. οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ διαριθμηθέντες εὑρέθησαν τριακόσιοι μὲν ἐπὶ χιλίοις καὶ μυρίοις οἱ τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων παρ' ἕνα τοσοῦτοι.

Ταύτην τὴν μάχην λέγουσι γενέσθαι πρὸ μιᾶς καλανδῶν Μαρτίων. ἐθριάμβευσε δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς Οὐαλλέριος εἰσελάσας τεθρίππῳ πρῶτος ὑπάτων. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα σεμνὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ παρέσχεν ὄψιν, οὐκ ἐπίφθονον οὐδ' ἀνιάσασαν, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τοὺς ὁρῶντας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔσχε ζῆλον τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ φιλοτιμίαν εἰς ἔτη πάμπολλα διαμένουσαν. ἀπεδέξαντο δὲ τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν συνάρχοντα τιμάς, αἷς ἐκκομιζόμενον καὶ θαπτόμενον ἐκόσμησε· καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ διεξῆλθεν ἐπιτάφιον, ὃς οὕτως ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἠγαπήθη καὶ τοσαύτην ἔσχε χάριν

both sides. Each army, however, was more convinced of defeat by the near sight of its own dead, than it could be of victory by conjecturing those of the enemy. But when such a night came on as must needs follow such a battle, and both camps were quiet, they say that the grove was shaken, and a loud voice issued from it declaring that the Tuscans had lost one man more in the battle than the Romans. The utterance was manifestly from some god,[1] for at once the Romans were inspired by it to loud shouts of courage, while the Tuscans were panic-stricken, abandoned their camp in confusion, and were for the most part dispersed. As for those that remained, a little less than five thousand in number, the Romans fell upon them, took them prisoners, and plundered the camp. And when the dead on both sides were numbered, those of the enemy were found to be eleven thousand and three hundred, and those of the Romans as many less one.

It is said that this battle was fought on the last day of February. Valerius celebrated a triumph for it, being the first consul to drive into the city on a four-horse chariot. And the proceeding afforded a spectacle which was imposing and magnificent, not odious and offensive to the spectators, as some say; otherwise it would not have been continued with such ardour and emulation for countless years. The people were also pleased with the honours which Valerius bestowed upon his colleague at the funeral ceremonies. He even delivered a funeral oration in his honour, which was so admired by the Romans and won such favour that from that time on, when

[1] Silvanus, as Livy tells the tale (ii. 7, 2).

ὥστε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ὑπάρχειν ἐξ ἐκείνου τελευτήσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιταφίων ἐκεῖνος γενέσθαι πρεσβύτερος, εἴγε μὴ καὶ τοῦτο Σόλωνός ἐστιν, ὡς Ἀναξιμένης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἱστόρηκεν.

X. Ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ἤχθοντο τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ καὶ προσέκρουον, ὅτι Βροῦτος μέν, ὃν πατέρα τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐνόμιζεν ὁ δῆμος, οὐκ ἠξίωσε μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ συνάρχοντα προσείλετο καὶ δεύτερον· "Οὗτοσὶ δ'," ἔφασαν, "εἰς αὐτὸν ἅπαντα συνενεγκάμενος οὐκ ἔστι τῆς Βρούτου κληρονόμος ὑπατείας μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ταρκυνίου τυραν-
2 νίδος. καίτοι τί δεῖ λόγῳ μὲν Βροῦτον ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἔργῳ δὲ μιμεῖσθαι Ταρκύνιον, ὑπὸ ῥάβδοις ὁμοῦ πάσαις καὶ πελέκεσι κατιόντα μόνον ἐξ οἰκίας τοσαύτης τὸ μέγεθος ὅσην οὐ καθεῖλε τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως;" καὶ γὰρ ὄντως ὁ Οὐαλλέριος ᾤκει τραγικώτερον ὑπὲρ τὴν καλουμένην Οὐελίαν οἰκίαν ἐπικρεμαμένην τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ καθορῶσαν ἐξ ὕψους ἅπαντα, δυσπρόσοδον δὲ πελάσαι καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔξωθεν, ὥστε καταβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σχῆμα μετέωρον εἶναι καὶ βασιλικὸν τῆς προ-
3 πομπῆς τὸν ὄγκον. ὅσον οὖν ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις ἀγαθὸν ἦν ἔχειν ὦτα παρρησίαν ἀντὶ κολακείας προσιέμενα καὶ λόγους ἀληθεῖς, ἔδειξεν. ἀκούσας γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἁμαρτάνειν ἐδόκει τῶν φίλων διεξιόντων, οὐκ ἐφιλονείκησεν, οὐδ' ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ πολλοὺς

their great and good men died, encomiums were pronounced upon them by the most distinguished citizens. And this funeral oration of his is said to have been earlier than any among the Greeks, unless Anaximenes the orator is right in saying that the custom originated with Solon.

X. But that which the rather displeased and offended the people in Valerius was this. Brutus, whom they regarded as the father of their liberties, would not consent to rule alone, but once and again chose a colleague to rule with him. "But this Valerius," they said, "in concentrating all power upon himself, is not a successor to the consulate of Brutus, to which he has no right, but to the tyranny of Tarquin. Yet why should he extol Brutus in words, while in deeds he imitates Tarquin, descending to the forum alone, escorted by all the rods and axes together, from a house no less stately than the royal house which he demolished?" For, as a matter of fact, Valerius was living in a very splendid house on the so-called Velia.[1] It hung high over the forum, commanded a view of all that passed there, and was surrounded by steeps and hard to get at, so that when he came down from it the spectacle was a lofty one, and the pomp of his procession worthy of a king. Accordingly, Valerius showed what a good thing it is for men in power and high station to have ears which are open to frankness and truth instead of flattery. For when he heard from his friends, who spared him no detail, that he was thought by the multitude to be transgressing, he was not obstinate nor exasperated, but quickly got together a large force of workmen, and while it

[1] An eminence of the Palatine hill.

συναγαγὼν τεχνίτας ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης κατέβαλε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ κατέσκαψεν εἰς ἔδαφος πᾶσαν, 4 ὥστε μεθ' ἡμέραν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁρῶντας καὶ συνισταμένους τοῦ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαπᾶν καὶ θαυμάζειν τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, ἄχθεσθαι δὲ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ποθεῖν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου, διὰ φθόνον οὐ δικαίως καταλελυμένης, τοῦ δὲ ἄρχοντος, ὥσπερ ἀνεστίου, παρ' ἑτέροις οἰκοῦντος. ἐδέχοντο γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τὸν Οὐαλλέριον ἄχρι οὗ τόπον ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ καὶ κατεσκεύασεν οἰκίαν ἐκείνης μετριωτέραν, ὅπου νῦν ἱερόν ἐστιν Οὐίκας πότας ὀνομαζόμενον.

5 Βουλόμενος δὲ μὴ μόνον ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ φοβερᾶς χειροήθη καὶ προσφιλῆ ποιεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τούς τε πελέκεις ἀπέλυσε τῶν ῥάβδων, αὐτάς τε τὰς ῥάβδους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν παριὼν ὑφῆκε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ κατέκλινε, μέγα ποιῶν τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς δημοκρατίας. καὶ τοῦτο 6 μέχρι νῦν διαφυλάττουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες. ἐλάνθανε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐχ ἑαυτόν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ποιῶν ταπεινόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν φθόνον τῇ μετριότητι ταύτῃ καθαιρῶν καὶ κολούων, αὑτῷ δὲ προστιθεὶς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος δυνάμεως ὅσον ἀφαιρεῖν ἐδόκει τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὑποδυομένου μεθ' ἡδονῆς αὐτῷ τοῦ

was still night tore the house down, and razed it all to the ground. In the morning, therefore, the Romans saw what had happened, and came flocking together. They were moved to love and admiration by the man's magnanimity, but were distressed for the house, and mourned for its stately beauty, as if it had been human, now that envy had unjustly compassed its destruction. They were also distressed for their ruler, who, like a homeless man, was now sharing the homes of others. For Valerius was received into the houses of his friends until the people gave him a site and built him a house, of more modest dimensions than the one he had lived in before, where now stands the temple of Vica Pota,[1] so-called.

Wishing now to make not only himself but also the government, instead of formidable, submissive and agreeable to the multitude, he removed the axes from the lictors' rods, and when he came into the assembly, inclined and lowered the rods themselves to the people, emphasizing the majesty of the democracy. This custom the consuls observe to this day. And before the multitude were aware of it, he had succeeded, not by humbling himself, as they thought, but by checking and removing their envious feelings through such moderation on his part, in adding to his real influence over them just as much as he had seemed to take away from his authority, and the people submitted to him with pleasure and bore his

[1] Victress Possessor, a name of the goddess of victory, whose temple was at the foot of the Velia (Livy, ii. 7, 12). According to Livy, Valerius was building the house on the Velia, but in order to allay the people's jealousy, brought the materials to the foot of the hill, and built the house there.

δήμου καὶ φέροντος ἑκουσίως. ὥστε καὶ Ποπλικόλαν ἀνηγόρευσεν αὐτόν· σημαίνει δὲ τοὔνομα δημοκηδῆ· καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἴσχυσε τῶν ἀρχαίων ὀνομάτων, ᾧ καὶ ἡμεῖς χρησόμεθα τὸν λοιπὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱστοροῦντες.

XI. Ὑπατείαν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκε μετιέναι καὶ παραγγέλλειν τοῖς βουλομένοις· πρὸ δὲ τῆς καταστάσεως τοῦ συνάρχοντος οὐκ εἰδὼς τὸν γενησόμενον, ἀλλὰ δεδιὼς ἀντίπραξιν ὑπὸ φθόνου τινὸς ἢ ἀγνοίας, ἐχρήσατο τῇ μοναρχίᾳ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀνεπλήρωσε τὴν βουλὴν ὀλιγανδροῦσαν· ἐτεθνήκεσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Τα-
2 κυνίου πρότερον, οἱ δὲ ἔναγχος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. τοὺς δ' ἐγγραφέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξήκοντα τέσσαρας γενέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νόμους ἔγραψεν, ὧν μάλιστα μὲν ἰσχυροὺς ἐποίησε τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τῷ φεύγοντι δίκην ἐπικαλεῖσθαι διδούς· δεύτερος ὁ τοὺς ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβόντας, ἣν ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν,
3 ἀποθνήσκειν κελεύων· τρίτος δὲ μετὰ τούτους, ὃς ἐβοήθησε τοῖς πένησιν, ᾧ τὰ τέλη τῶν πολιτῶν ἀφεῖλε καὶ προθυμότερον ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἐργασιῶν ἐποίησεν ἅπαντας. ὁ δὲ γραφεὶς κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων τοῖς ὑπάτοις οὐχ ἧττον ἔδοξε δημοτικὸς εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἢ δυνατῶν γεγράφθαι. ζημίαν γὰρ ἀπειθείας ἔταξε
4 βοῶν πέντε καὶ δυεῖν προβάτων ἀξίαν. ἦν δὲ τιμὴ προβάτου μὲν ὀβολοὶ δέκα, βοὸς δὲ ἑκατόν, οὔπω νομίσματι χρωμένων πολλῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων,

yoke willingly. They therefore called him Publicola,[1] a name which signifies *people-cherisher*. This name prevailed over the older names which he had borne, and it is the name which I shall use for him in the remainder of this Life.

XI. For he permitted any who wished to enter the lists and sue for the consulship. But before the installation of his colleague, not knowing who he would be, but fearing an opposition due to some jealousy or ignorance, he used his sole authority for the enactment of his best and most important measures. In the first place, he filled up the senate, which was much reduced in numbers; for some had long before been put to death by Tarquin, and others had recently fallen in the battle with the Tuscans. Those who were enrolled in this body by him amounted, they say, to a hundred and sixty-four. After this he enacted several laws, one of which especially strengthened the position of the commons by allowing a defendant to appeal to the people from the judgement of the consuls. A second made it a capital offence to assume a magistracy which the people had not bestowed. A third, following these, came to the relief of the poor; it lifted the taxes from the citizens, so that all engaged more zealously in manufactures and commerce. And the one which was enacted against disobedience to the consuls was thought to be no less popular in its character, and to be in the interest of the many rather than of the powerful. For the fine which it imposed on disobedience was only the worth of five oxen and two sheep. Now the value of a sheep was ten obols, and that of an ox, a hundred, for the Romans at

[1] Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 1.

ἀλλὰ προβατείαις καὶ κτηνοτροφίαις εὐθηνούντων. διὸ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἄχρι νῦν ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων πεκούλια καλοῦσι, καὶ τῶν νομισμάτων τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις βοῦν ἐπεχάραττον ἢ πρόβατον ἢ σῦν. ἐτίθεντο δὲ καὶ παισὶν αὐτῶν Συΐλλους καὶ Βουβούλκους καὶ Καπραρίους ὀνόματα καὶ Πορκίους· κάπρας μὲν τὰς αἶγας, πόρκους δὲ τοὺς χοίρους ὀνομάζοντες.

XII. Οὕτω δὲ περὶ ταῦτα δημοτικὸς γενόμενος νομοθέτης καὶ μέτριος, ἐν τῷ μὴ μετρίῳ[1] τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑπερέτεινεν. ἔγραψε γὰρ νόμον ἄνευ κρίσεως κτεῖναι διδόντα τὸν βουλόμενον τυραννεῖν· κτείναντα δὲ φόνου καθαρὸν ἐποίησεν, εἰ παράσχοιτο τοῦ ἀδικήματος τοὺς ἐλέγχους. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα τηλικούτοις λαθεῖν ἅπαντας, οὐκ ἀδύνατον δὲ τὸ μὴ λαθόντα τοῦ κριθῆναι φθάσαι κρείττονα γενόμενον, ἦν ἀναιρεῖ τὸ ἀδίκημα κρίσιν, προλαβεῖν ἔδωκε τῷ δυναμένῳ κατὰ τοῦ ἀδικοῦντος.

2 Ἐπηνέθη δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν ταμιευτικὸν νόμον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔδει χρήματα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσενεγκεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐσιῶν τοὺς πολίτας, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἅψασθαι τῆς οἰκονομίας οὔτε τοὺς φίλους ἐᾶσαι βουλόμενος οὔθ' ὅλως εἰς οἶκον ἰδιώτου παρελθεῖν δημόσια χρήματα, ταμιεῖον μὲν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ναόν, ᾧ μέχρι νῦν χρώμενοι διατελοῦσι, ταμίας δὲ τῷ δήμῳ δύο τῶν νέων ἔδωκεν ἀπο-
3 δεῖξαι· καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν οἱ πρῶτοι Πούπλιος

[1] ἐν τῷ μὴ μετρίῳ with Coraës : ἐν τῷ μετρίῳ.

that time did not use much coined money, but their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. Therefore to this day they call their substance "peculium," from "pecus," *cattle*; and their oldest coins are stamped with the figure of an ox, a sheep, or a hog. And they actually gave their own sons such surnames as Suillius, Bubulcus, Caprarius, and Porcius; the last two from "capra" and "porcus," their words for *goat* and *pig*.[1]

XII. But although in these particulars he showed himself a popular and moderate lawgiver, in the case of an immoderate offence he made the penalty severe. For he enacted a law by which any one who sought to make himself tyrant might be slain without trial, and the slayer should be free from blood-guiltiness if he produced proofs of the crime. For although it is impossible for one who attempts so great a task to escape all notice, it is not impossible for him to do so long enough to make himself too powerful to be brought to trial, which trial his very crime precludes. He therefore gave any one who was able to do so the privilege of anticipating the culprit's trial.

He also received praise for his law concerning the public treasury. When it was necessary for the citizens to contribute from their substance means for carrying on the war, he was unwilling to assume the administration of it himself, or to allow his friends to do so, or, indeed, to have the public moneys brought into any private house. He therefore made the temple of Saturn a treasury, as it is to this day, and gave the people the privilege of appointing two young men as quaestors, or treasurers. The first to

[1] The first two from forms of "sus," *swine*, and "bos," *ox*.

Οὐετούριος καὶ Μινούκιος Μάρκος καὶ χρήματα συνήχθη πολλά. τρισκαίδεκα γὰρ ἀπεγράψαντο μυριάδες, ὀρφανοῖς παισὶ καὶ χήραις γυναιξὶν ἀνεθείσης τῆς εἰσφορᾶς.

4 Ταῦτα δὲ διοικήσας ἀπέδειξεν ἑαυτῷ συνάρχοντα τὸν Λουκρητίας πατέρα Λουκρήτιον, ᾧ τῆς ἡγεμονικωτέρας ἐξιστάμενος ὄντι πρεσβυτέρῳ τάξεως παρέδωκε τοὺς καλουμένους φάσκης· καὶ τοῦτο διέμεινεν εἰς ἡμᾶς τὸ πρεσβεῖον ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῖς γεραιτέροις φυλαττόμενον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Λουκρήτιος, πάλιν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν γενομένων ᾑρέθη Μάρκος Ὡράτιος, καὶ συνῆρχε τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ τὸν ὑπολειπόμενον χρόνον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.

XIII. Ταρκυνίου δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δεύτερον πόλεμον ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ κινοῦντος μέγα σημεῖον λέγεται γενέσθαι· βασιλεύων γὰρ ἔτι καὶ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διὸς ἔχων ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὅσον οὔπω συντετελεσμένον, εἴτε μαντείας γενομένης εἴτ' αὐτῷ δόξαν ἄλλως, ἅρμα κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπιστῆσαι κεραμεοῦν ἐξέδωκε Τυρρηνοῖς τισιν ἐξ Οὐηΐων δημιουργοῖς, εἶτ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐξέπεσε τῆς
2 ἀρχῆς. τῶν δὲ Τυρρηνῶν διαπεπλασμένον τὸ τέθριππον ἐμβαλόντων εἰς κάμινον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν ἃ προσήκει πάσχειν πηλὸν ἐν πυρί, πυκνοῦσθαι καὶ συνιζάνειν, ἐκτηκομένης τῆς ὑγρότητος, ἀλλ' ἐξέστη καὶ ᾤδησε καὶ μέγεθος ἔσχεν ἅμα ῥώμῃ καὶ σκληρότητι τοσοῦτον ὥστε μόλις ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀποσκευασαμένων τῆς καμίνου καὶ
3 τῶν τοίχων περιαιρεθέντων. ὡς οὖν ἐδόκει τοῖς μάντεσι θεῖον εἶναι σημεῖον εὐτυχίας καὶ δυνάμεως παρ' οἷς ἔσοιτο τὸ τέθριππον, ἔγνωσαν οἱ

be thus appointed were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minucius, and large sums of money were collected. For one hundred and thirty thousand names were on the assessment lists, orphans and widows being excused from the contribution.[1]

This matter regulated, he caused Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, to be appointed his colleague in the consulship.[2] To him he yielded the precedence, as the elder man, and committed to him the so-called "fasces," a privilege of seniority which has continued from that day to this. But Lucretius died a few days afterwards, and in a new election Marcus Horatius was chosen consul, and shared the office with Publicola for the remainder of the year.

XIII. While Tarquin was stirring up in Tuscany another war against the Romans, a thing of great portent is said to have happened. When Tarquin was still king, and had all but completed the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, either in consequence of an oracle, or else of his own good pleasure, he commissioned certain Tuscan craftsmen of Veii to place upon its roof a chariot of terra cotta. Soon after this he was driven from his throne. The Tuscans, however, modelled the chariot and put it in a furnace for firing, but the clay did not contract and shrink in the fire, as it usually does, when its moisture evaporates. Instead of this, it expanded and swelled and took on such size, strength, and hardness, that it could with difficulty be removed, even after the roof of the furnace had been taken off and its sides torn away. To the seers, accordingly, this seemed a divine portent of prosperity and power for those who should possess the chariot, and the

[1] Cf. *Camillus*, ii. 2. [2] Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 1–4.

Οὐήϊοι μὴ προέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαιτοῦσι, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο τοῦτο Ταρκυνίοις, οὐ τοῖς Ταρκυνίους ἐκβαλοῦσι προσήκειν. ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον 10
ἡμέραις ἦσαν ἵππων ἀγῶνες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θέαν καὶ σπουδὴν εἰωθυῖαν παρεῖχε, τὸ δὲ νικῆσαν τέθριππον ὁ μὲν ἡνίοχος ἐξήλαυνε τοῦ
4 ἱπποδρόμου σχέδην ἐστεφανωμένος, οἱ δὲ ἵπποι πτοηθέντες ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐμφανοῦς προφάσεως, ἀλλὰ κατά τι δαιμόνιον ἢ τύχην ἵεντο παντὶ τάχει πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν, ἔχοντες τὸν ἡνίοχον, ὡς οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργον αὐτοῦ κατατείνοντος οὐδὲ παρηγοροῦντος, ἀλλ' ἥρπαστο, δόντα τῇ ῥύμῃ καὶ φερόμενον, ἄχρι οὗ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ προσμίξαντες ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τὴν πύλην ἣν νῦν Ῥατουμέναν καλοῦσι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου θαυμάσαντες οἱ Οὐήϊοι καὶ φοβηθέντες ἐπέτρεψαν ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ἅρμα τοῖς τεχνίταις.

XIV. Τὸν δὲ νεὼν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διὸς εὔξατο μὲν ἀναθήσειν Ταρκύνιος ὁ Δημαράτου πολεμῶν Σαβίνοις, ᾠκοδόμησε δὲ Ταρκύνιος ὁ Σούπερβος υἱὸς ὢν ἢ υἱωνὸς τοῦ εὐξαμένου· καθιερῶσαι δὲ οὐκ ἔφθασεν, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ἀπελείπετο τοῦ τέλος ἔχειν ὅτε Ταρκύνιος ἐξέπιπτεν. ὡς οὖν ἀπείργαστο τελέως καὶ τὸν πρυσήκοντα κόσμον ἀπεῖχεν, ἦν τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ φιλοτιμία
2 πρὸς τὴν καθιέρωσιν. ἐφθόνουν δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν, καὶ ἤχθοντο ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις τιμαῖς ἧττον, ἃς νομοθετῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐκ πρυσηκόντων ἔσχε· ταύτην δ' οὖσαν ἀλλοτρίαν οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν αὐτῷ προσγενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ὡράτιον

people of Veii determined not to give it up. When the Romans asked for it, they were told that it belonged to the Tarquins, not to those who had expelled the Tarquins. But a few days afterwards there were chariot races at Veii. Here the usual exciting spectacles were witnessed, but when the charioteer, with his garland on his head, was quietly driving his victorious chariot out of the race-course, his horses took a sudden fright, upon no apparent occasion, but either by some divine ordering or by merest chance, and dashed off at the top of their speed towards Rome, charioteer and all. It was of no use for him to rein them in or try to calm them with his voice; he was whirled helplessly along until they reached the Capitol and threw him out there, at the gate now called Ratumena. The Veientines were amazed and terrified at this occurrence, and permitted the workmen to deliver their chariot.

XIV. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had been vowed by Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, when he was at war with the Sabines, but it was actually built by Tarquinius Superbus, the son, or grandson, of him who vowed it. He did not, however, get so far as to consecrate it, but was driven out before it was quite completed. Accordingly, now that it was completely finished and had received all the ornaments that belonged to it, Publicola was ambitious to consecrate it. But this excited the jealousy of many of the nobility. They could better brook his other honours, to which, as legislator and military commander, he had a rightful claim. But this one they thought he ought not to have, since it was more appropriate for others, and therefore they

προετρέποντο καὶ παρώξυνον ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς καθιερώσεως. γενομένης οὖν τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ στρατείας ἀναγκαίας, ψηφισάμενοι τὸν Ὡράτιον καθιεροῦν ἀνῆγον εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὡς οὐκ
3 ἂν ἐκείνου περιγενόμενοι παρόντος. ἔνιοι δέ φασι κλήρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων λαχεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἄκοντα, τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καθιέρωσιν. ἔξεστι δὲ περὶ τούτων ὡς ἔσχεν εἰκάζειν τοῖς πραχθεῖσι περὶ τὴν καθιέρωσιν. εἰδοῖς οὖν Σεπτεμβρίαις, ὃ συντυγχάνει περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον μάλιστα τοῦ Μεταγειτνιῶνος, συνηθροι-
4 σμένων ἁπάντων εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὁ μὲν Ὡράτιος σιωπῆς γενομένης τά τ' ἄλλα δράσας καὶ τῶν θυρῶν ἁψάμενος, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐπεφθέγγετο τὰς νενομισμένας ἐπὶ τῇ καθιερώσει φωνάς· ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ποπλικόλα Μάρκος ἐκ πολλοῦ παρὰ τὰς θύρας ὑφεστὼς καὶ παραφυλάττων τὸν καιρόν, "Ὦ ὕπατε," εἶπεν, "ὁ υἱός
5 σου τέθνηκεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νοσήσας." τοῦτο πάντας ἠνίασε τοὺς ἀκούσαντας· ὁ δ' Ὡράτιος οὐδὲν διαταραχθείς, ἀλλ' ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπών, "Ῥίψατε τοίνυν ὅποι βούλεσθε τὸν νεκρόν, ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ προσίεμαι τὸ πένθος," ἐπέραινε τὴν λοιπὴν καθιέρωσιν. ἦν δὲ τὸ προσηγγελμένον οὐκ ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ὁ Μάρκος ὡς ἀποστήσων τὸν Ὡράτιον ἐψεύσατο. θαυμαστὸς οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς εὐσταθείας, εἴτε τὴν ἀπάτην ἐν καιρῷ βραχεῖ συνεῖδεν εἴτε πιστευθεὶς ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἐκίνησεν αὐτόν.

XV. Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν δεύτερον ναὸν

encouraged and incited Horatius to claim the privilege of consecrating the temple. At a time, then, when Publicola was necessarily absent on military service, they got a vote passed that Horatius should perform the consecration, and conducted him up to the Capitol, feeling that they could not have gained their point had Publicola been in the city. Some, however, say that Publicola was designated by lot, against his inclination, for the expedition, and Horatius for the consecration.[1] And it is possible to infer how the matter stood between them from what happened at the consecration. It was the Ides of September, a day which nearly coincides with the full moon of the Attic month Metageitnion; the people were all assembled on the Capitol, silence had been proclaimed, and Horatius, after performing the other ceremonies and laying hold upon the door of the temple, as the custom is, was pronouncing the usual words of consecration. But just then Marcus, the brother of Publicola, who had long been standing by the door and was watching his opportunity, said: "O Consul, thy son lies dead of sickness in the camp." This distressed all who heard it; But Horatius, not at all disturbed, merely said: "Cast forth the dead then whither ye please, for I take no mourning upon me," and finished his consecration. Now the announcement was not true, but Marcus thought by his falsehood to deter Horatius from his duty. Wonderful, therefore, was the firm poise of the man, whether he at once saw through the deceit, or believed the story without letting it overcome him.[1]

XV. A similar fortune seems to have attended the

[1] Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 6–8.

ὁμοία τύχη γενέσθαι τῆς καθιερώσεως. τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον, ὡς εἴρηται, Ταρκυνίου κατασκευάσαντος, Ὡρατίου δὲ καθιερώσαντος, ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις πῦρ ἀπώλεσε· τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀνέστησε μὲν Σύλλας, ἐπεγράφη δὲ τῇ καθιερώσει Κάτουλος Σύλλα προαποθανόντος.
2 τούτου δὲ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Οὐϊτέλλιον στάσεσι διαφθαρέντος τὸν τρίτον τῇ πρὸς ταῦλλα καὶ τοῦτο χρησάμενος εὐποτμίᾳ Οὐεσπεσιανὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἀναγαγών, ἐπεῖδε γενόμενον καὶ φθειρόμενον μετ' ὀλίγον οὐκ ἐπεῖδεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον εὐτυχίᾳ Σύλλαν παρῆλθεν ὅσον ἐκεῖνον μὲν τῆς ἀφιερώσεως τοῦ ἔργου, τοῦτον δὲ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως προαποθανεῖν. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ τελευτῆσαι Οὐεσπεσιανὸν ἐνεπρήσθη τὸ Καπιτώλιον.
3 Ὁ δὲ τέταρτος οὗτος ὑπὸ Δομετιανοῦ καὶ 10
συνετελέσθη καὶ καθιερώθη. λέγεται δὲ Ταρκύνιον εἰς τοὺς θεμελίους ἀναλῶσαι λίτρας ἀργυρίου τετρακισμυρίας· τούτου δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸν μέγιστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν πλοῦτον ἐκλογισθέντα τὸ τῆς χρυσώσεως μὴ τελέσαι ἂν ἀνάλωμα, πλέον ἢ δισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ταλάντων γενόμενον. οἱ δὲ κίονες ἐκ τοῦ Πεντε-
4 λῆσιν ἐτμήθησαν λίθου, κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ἔχοντες· εἴδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνησιν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αὖθις καὶ ἀναξυσθέντες οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔσχον γλαφυρίας ὅσον ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας καὶ[1] τοῦ καλοῦ, διάκενοι

[1] καὶ supplied by Bekker, after G. Hermann: *συμμετρίας τοῦ καλοῦ* (*the symmetry of their beauty*).

dedication of the second temple. The first, as I have said, was built by Tarquin, but consecrated by Horatius; this was destroyed by fire during the civil wars.[1] The second temple was built by Sulla, but Catulus was commissioned to consecrate it,[2] after the death of Sulla. This temple, too was destroyed, during the troublous times of Vitellius,[3] and Vespasian began and completely finished the third, with the good fortune that attended him in all his undertakings. He lived to see it completed, and did not live to see it destroyed, as it was soon after; and in dying before his work was destroyed he was just so much more fortunate than Sulla, who died before his was consecrated. For upon the death of Vespasian the Capitol was burned.[4]

The fourth temple, which is now standing on the same site as the others, was both completed and consecrated by Domitian. It is said that Tarquin expended upon its foundations forty thousand pounds of silver. But the greatest wealth now attributed to any private citizen of Rome would not pay the cost of the gilding alone of the present temple, which was more than twelve thousand talents.[5] Its pillars are of Pentelic marble,[6] and their thickness was once most happily proportioned to their length; for we saw them at Athens. But when they were recut and scraped at Rome, they did not gain as much in polish as they lost in symmetry and beauty,

[1] 83 B.C. [2] 69 B.C. [3] 69 A.D. [4] 80 A.D.

[5] For purposes of comparison a talent may be reckoned as worth £250, or $1200.

[6] Pentelé was an Attic deme on the N.E. edge of the Athenian plain, near which excellent marble was quarried from the mountain. This was called Brilessus in earlier times, then Pentelicus.

καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες. ὁ μέντοι θαυμάσας τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὴν πολυτέλειαν, εἰ μίαν εἶδεν ἐν οἰκίᾳ Δομετιανοῦ στοὰν ἢ βασιλικὴν ἢ βαλανεῖον ἢ παλλακίδων δίαιταν, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον Ἐπιχάρμου πρὸς τὸν ἄσωτον,

Οὐ φιλάνθρωπος τύ γ' ἐσσ'· ἔχεις νόσον·
χαίρεις διδούς,

τοιοῦτον ἄν τι πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἰπεῖν προήχθη· "Οὐκ εὐσεβὴς οὐδὲ φιλότιμος τύ γ' ἐσσί· ἔχεις νόσον· χαίρεις κατοικοδομῶν, ὥσπερ ὁ Μίδας ἐκεῖνος, ἅπαντά σοι χρυσᾶ καὶ λίθινα βουλόμενος γίνεσθαι." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

XVI. Ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην μάχην ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπώλεσε μονομαχήσαντα Βρούτῳ, καταφυγὼν εἰς τὸ Κλούσιον ἱκέτευσε Λάραν Πορσίναν, ἄνδρα καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην ἔχοντα τῶν Ἰταλικῶν βασιλέων καὶ δοκοῦντα χρηστὸν εἶναι καὶ φιλότιμον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο βοηθήσειν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην κελεύων δέχεσθαι τὸν Ταρκύνιον· ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καταγγείλας αὐτοῖς πόλεμον καὶ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ καὶ τόπον εἰς ὃν ἔμελλεν
2 ἐμβαλεῖν, ἀφίκετο μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. Ποπλικόλας δ' ἡρέθη μὲν ἀπὸν ὕπατος τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Τίτος Λουκρήτιος· ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ βουλόμενος τῷ φρονήματι πρῶτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸν Πορσίναν, ἔκτιζε πόλιν Σιγλιουρίαν ἤδη πλησίον ὄντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ τειχίσας μεγάλοις ἀναλώμασιν ἑπτακοσίους ἐποι-

and they now look too slender and thin. However, if anyone who is amazed at the costliness of the Capitol had seen a single colonnade in the palace of Domitian, or a basilica, or a bath, or the apartments for his concubines, then, as Epicharmus says to the spendthrift,

"'Tis not beneficent thou art; thou art diseased;
thy mania is to give,"

so he would have been moved to say to Domitian: "'Tis not pious, nor nobly ambitious that thou art; thou art diseased; thy mania is to build; like the famous Midas, thou desirest that every thing become gold and stone at thy touch." So much, then, on this head.

XVI. But to return to Tarquin, after the great battle in which he lost his son in a duel with Brutus, he fled for refuge to Clusium, and became a suppliant of Lars Porsena, the most powerful king in Italy, who was thought also to be a man of worth and noble ambitions. He promised Tarquin his aid and assistance. So in the first place he sent to Rome and ordered them to receive Tarquin as their king. Then when the Romans refused, he declared war upon them, proclaimed the time and place of his attack, and marched thither with a great force.[1] Publicola was chosen consul for the second time, in his absence, and Titus Lucretius as his colleague. Returning, therefore, to Rome, and wishing, in the first place, to surpass Porsena in the loftiness of his spirit, he built the city of Sigliuria, although his adversary was already near at hand. After he had fortified it at great expense, he sent to it a colony of seven hundred

[1] Cf. Livy, ii. 9.

κοὺς ἀπέστειλεν, ὡς ῥᾳδίως φέρων καὶ ἀδεῶς τὸν
3 πόλεμον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσβολῆς ὀξείας τῷ
τείχει γενομένης ἐξεώσθησαν οἱ φύλακες ὑπὸ
τοῦ Πορσίνα, καὶ φεύγοντες ὀλίγου συνεπεσπά-
σαντο τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἔφθη δὲ
πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκβοηθήσας ὁ Ποπλικόλας, καὶ
μάχην συνάψας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀντεῖχε πλή-
θει βιαζομένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄχρι οὗ τραύμασι
νεανικοῖς περιπεσὼν ἀπεκομίσθη φοράδην ἐκ τῆς
4 μάχης. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Λουκρητίου τοῦ συνάρ-
χοντος αὐτῷ παθόντος ἀθυμία τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἐνέπεσε, καὶ φυγῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔσωζον ἑαυ-
τούς. ὠθουμένων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων διὰ τῆς ξυλί-
νης γεφύρας ἐκινδύνευσεν ἡ Ῥώμη κατὰ κράτος
ἁλῶναι. πρῶτος δὲ Κόκλιος Ὡράτιος καὶ σὺν
αὐτῷ δύο τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν, Ἑρμίνιος
καὶ Λάρκιος, ἀντέστησαν περὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυ-
5 ραν. ὁ δ' Ὡράτιος τὸν Κόκλιον ἐπωνύμιον ἔσχεν
ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν ὀμμάτων θάτερον ἐκκοπείς· ὡς
δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, διὰ σιμότητα τῆς ῥινὸς ἐνδεδυ-
κυίας ὥστε μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ διορίζον τὰ ὄμματα
καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς συγκεχύσθαι, Κύκλωπα βουλό-
μενοι καλεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς γλώττης ὀλι-
σθαινούσης ἐκράτησεν ὑπὸ πλήθους Κόκλιον κα-
6 λεῖσθαι. οὗτος ἑστὼς πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἠμύνετο
τοὺς πολεμίους, ἄχρι οὗ διέκοψαν οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ
κατόπιν τὴν γέφυραν. οὕτω δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων
ἀφεὶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπενήξατο, καὶ
προσέμιξε τῇ πέραν ὄχθῃ δόρατι Τυρρηνικῷ
7 βεβλημένος τὸν γλουτόν. ὁ δὲ Ποπλικόλας τὴν
ἀρετὴν θαυμάσας αὐτίκα μὲν εἰσηγήσατο Ῥω-

men, indicating that he had no concern or fear about the war. However, a sharp assault was made upon its wall by Porsena, and its garrison was driven out. They fled to Rome, where the pursuing enemy almost followed them into the city. But Publicola promptly sallied out to their aid in front of the gate, joined battle by the river side with the enemy, who pressed on in great numbers, and held out against them until he was desperately wounded and carried bodily out of the battle. The same fate overtook Lucretius, his colleague, also, so that dismay fell upon the Romans, and they fled for safety towards the city. But as the enemy were forcing their way onto the wooden bridge, Rome was in danger of being taken by storm. Horatius Cocles,[1] however, first, and with him two of the most illustrious men of the city, Herminius and Lartius, defended the wooden bridge against them. Horatius had been given his surname of Cocles because he had lost one of his eyes in the wars. Some, however, say that his nose was flat and sunken, so that there was nothing to separate his eyes, and his eye-brows ran together, and that for this reason the multitude wished to call him Cyclops, but by a slip of the tongue the name of Cocles became generally prevalent instead. This Cocles, standing at the head of the bridge, kept the enemy back until his companions had cut the bridge in two behind him. Then, all accoutred as he was, he plunged into the river and swam across to the other side, in spite of a wound in the buttocks from a Tuscan spear. Publicola, out of admiration for his valour, proposed that every Roman should at once

[1] The exploit of Horatius is much more dramatically narrated by Livy (ii. 10).

μαίους ἅπαντας, ὅσην ἕκαστος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τροφὴν ἀνήλισκε, δοῦναι συνεισενεγκόντας, ἔπειτα τῆς χώρας ἣν αὐτὸς περιαρόσειεν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἔστησαν αὐτῷ[1] ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τὴν γενομένην ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος τῷ ἀνδρὶ χωλότητα μετὰ τιμῆς παρηγοροῦντες.

XVII. Ἐπικειμένου δὲ Πορσίνα τῇ πόλει καὶ λιμὸς ἤπτετο τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Τυρρηνῶν ἕτερος στρατὸς αὐτὸς καθ' αὑτὸν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐνέβαλε. Ποπλικόλας δὲ τὸ τρίτον ὑπατεύων Πορσίνᾳ μὲν ἀτρεμῶν καὶ φυλάττων τὴν πόλιν ᾤετο δεῖν ἀντέχειν, τοῖς δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἐπεξῆλθε καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐτρέψατο καὶ πεντακισχιλίους αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλε.

Τὸ δὲ περὶ Μούκιον εἴρηται μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρως, λεκτέον δὲ ᾗ μάλιστα πιστεύεται
2 καὶ ἡμῖν. ἦν ἀνὴρ εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἀγαθός, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἄριστος· ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ τὸν Πορσίναν ἀνελεῖν παρεισῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον Τυρρηνίδα φορῶν ἐσθῆτα καὶ φωνῇ χρώμενος ὁμοίᾳ. περιελθὼν δὲ τὸ βῆμα τοῦ βασιλέως καθεζομένου, καὶ σαφῶς μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰδώς, ἐρέσθαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ δεδιώς, ὃν ᾠήθη μάλιστα τῶν συγκαθεζομένων ἐκεῖνον εἶναι σπα-
3 σάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ συλληφθεὶς ἀνεκρίνετο· καί τινος ἐσχαρίδος πῦρ ἐχούσης μέλλοντι τῷ Πορσίνᾳ θύειν κεκομισμένης, ὑπερσχὼν τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα καιομένης τῆς σαρκὸς εἱστήκει πρὸς τὸν Πορσίναν ἀποβλέπων ἰταμῷ καὶ ἀτρέπτῳ τῷ προσώπῳ, μέχρι οὗ θαυ-

[1] αὐτῷ bracketed in Sintenis[2] because of the hiatus following.

contribute for him as much provision as each consumed in a day, and that afterwards he should be given as much land as he could plough round in a day. Besides this, they set up a bronze statue of him in the temple of Vulcan, to console him with honour for the lameness consequent upon his wound.

XVII. While Porsena was closely investing the city, a famine afflicted the Romans,[1] and another Tuscan army on its own account invaded their territory. Publicola, who was now consul for the third time, thought that Porsena must be met by a quiet and watchful resistance within the city; but he sallied out upon the other Tuscan army, engaged it, routed it, and slew five thousand of them.

The story of Mucius has been often and variously told, but I must give it as it seems most credible to me.[2] He was a man endowed with every virtue, but most excellent in war. Designing to kill Porsena, he stole into his camp, wearing a Tuscan habit, and using a speech to correspond. After walking around the tribunal where the king was sitting with others, not knowing him certainly, and fearing to inquire about him, he drew his sword and slew that one of the group whom he thought most likely to be the king. Upon this he was seized, and was being questioned, when a sort of pan containing live coals was brought to Porsena, who was about to offer sacrifice. Mucius held his right hand over the flames and, while the flesh was burning, stood looking at Porsena with a bold and steadfast countenance, until the king was overcome with

[1] Cf. Livy, ii. 12, 1.

[2] Plutarch's version is far less coherent and dramatic than Livy's (ii. 12).

μάσας ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀποδιδοὺς ὤρεξεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος· ὁ δὲ τὴν εὐώνυμον προτείνας ἐδέξατο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν Σκαιόλαν ἐπίκλησιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ
4 Λαιόν. ἔφη δὲ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Πορσίνα νενικηκὼς ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ χάριτι μηνύειν ἃ πρὸς ἀνάγκην οὐκ ἂν ἐξηγόρευσε. "Τριακόσιοι γὰρ Ῥωμαίων," ἔφη, "τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ σου πλανῶνται καιρὸν ἐπιτηροῦντες· ἐγὼ δὲ κλήρῳ λαχὼν καὶ προεπιχειρήσας οὐκ ἄχθομαι τῇ τύχῃ, διαμαρτὼν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίου
5 Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι πρέποντος." ταῦθ' ὁ Πορσίνας ἀκούσας ἐπίστευσε καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἥδιον ἔσχεν, οὐ τοσοῦτό, μοι δοκεῖ, φόβῳ τῶν τριακοσίων, ὅσον ἀγασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

Τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα Μούκιον ὁμοῦ τι πάντων καὶ Σκαιόλαν καλούντων Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ Σάνδωνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ὀκταουΐαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν καὶ Ὀψίγονον ὠνομάσθαι φησίν.

XVIII. Ὁ μέντοι Ποπλικόλας αὐτός, οὐχ οὕτω πολέμιον ὄντα τὸν Πορσίναν βαρὺν ἡγούμενος ὡς ἄξιον πολλοῦ τῇ πόλει φίλον γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχον, οὐκ ἔφευγεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δίκῃ κριθῆναι πρὸς Ταρκύνιον, ἀλλ' ἐθάρρει καὶ προὐκαλεῖτο

admiration and released him, and handed him back his sword, reaching it down to him from the tribunal. Mucius stretched out his left hand and took it (on which account, they say, he received the surname of Scaevola, which means *Left-handed*). Then he said that although he had conquered the fear which Porsena inspired, he was vanquished by the nobility which he displayed, and would reveal out of gratitude what he would not have disclosed under compulsion. "Three hundred Romans, then," said he, "with the same resolution as mine, are now prowling about in thy camp and watching their opportunity. I was chosen by lot to make the first attempt upon thee, and I am not distressed at what has happened, so noble is the man whom I failed to kill, and so worthy to be a friend rather than an enemy of the Romans." On hearing this, Porsena believed it to be true, and felt more inclined to come to terms, not so much, I suppose, through fear of the three hundred, as out of wondering admiration for the lofty spirit and bravery of the Romans.[1]

All other writers agree in giving this Mucius the surname of Scaevola, but Athenodorus, the son of Sandon, in his book addressed to Octavia, the sister of Augustus Caesar, says that his surname was Postumus.

XVIII. Publicola himself, moreover, thinking that Porsena would be more valuable as a friend and ally of the city than he was dangerous as its enemy, did not shrink from making the king an arbitrator in his dispute with Tarquin,[1] but often boldly challenged

[1] According to Livy (ii. 13, 1–5), Porsena was so terrified by the disclosures of Mucius, that he made propositions of peace to the Romans.

πολλάκις ὡς ἐξελέγξων κάκιστον ἀνδρῶν καὶ δικαίως ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀποκρινομένου δὲ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τραχύτερον, οὐδένα ποιεῖσθαι δικαστήν, ἥκιστα δὲ Πορσίναν, εἰ σύμμαχος
2 ὢν μεταβάλλεται, δυσχεράνας καὶ καταγνοὺς ὁ Πορσίνας, ἅμα δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἄρροντος δεομένου καὶ σπουδάζοντος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, κατελύσατο τὸν πόλεμον ἐξισταμένοις ἧς ἀπετέμοντο τῆς Τυρρηνίδος χώρας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποπέμπουσι, κομιζομένοις δὲ τοὺς αὐτομόλους. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁμήρους ἔδωκαν ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν περιπορφύρους δέκα καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας, ὧν ἦν καὶ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ Οὐαλλερία.

XIX. Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων τοῦ τε Πορσίνα πᾶσαν ἤδη τὴν πολεμικὴν ἀνεικότος παρασκευὴν διὰ πίστιν, αἱ παρθένοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατῆλθον ἐπὶ λουτρὸν ἔνθα δὴ μηνοειδής τις ὄχθη περιβάλλουσα τὸν ποταμὸν ἡσυχίαν μάλιστα καὶ γαλήνην τοῦ κύματος παρεῖχεν. ὡς δ' οὔτε 10
τινὰ φυλακὴν ἑώρων οὔτε παριόντας ἄλλως ἢ διαπλέοντας, ὁρμὴν ἔσχον ἀπονήξασθαι πρὸς
2 ῥεῦμα πολὺ καὶ δίνας βαθείας. ἔνιοι δέ φασι μίαν αὐτῶν, ὄνομα Κλοιλίαν, ἵππῳ διεξελάσαι τὸν πόρον, ἐγκελευομένην ταῖς ἄλλαις νεούσαις καὶ παραθαρρύνουσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθεῖσαι πρὸς τὸν Ποπλικόλαν ἦκον, οὐκ ἐθαύμασεν οὐδ' ἠγάπησεν, ἀλλ' ἠνιάθη, ὅτι Πορσίνα κακίων ἐν πίστει φανεῖται, καὶ τὸ τόλμημα τῶν παρθένων

Tarquin to do so, confident of proving that he was the basest of men and justly deprived of his kingdom. And when Tarquin gave him a rough answer, saying that he would make no man his judge, least of all Porsena, seeing that he was swerving from his alliance with him, Porsena was displeased and perceived the weakness of his cause. His son Aruns also pleaded earnestly with him in behalf of the Romans. Consequently, he put an end to his war against them, on condition that they gave up the territory of Tuscany which they had taken, sent back their prisoners of war, and received back their deserters. In confirmation of these conditions, the Romans gave as hostages ten young men from their noblest families, and as many maidens, of whom Valeria, a daughter of Publicola, was one.

XIX. After these stipulations had been carried out, and when Porsena had already remitted all his warlike preparations through his confidence in the treaty, these Roman maidens went down to the river to bathe, at a place where the curving bank formed a bay and kept the water especially still and free from waves. As they saw no guard near, nor any one else passing by or crossing the stream, they were seized with a desire to swim away, notwithstanding the depth and whirl of the strong current. And some say that one of them, named Cloelia, crossed the stream on horseback, exhorting and encouraging the rest as they swam. But when they were come in safety to Publicola, he bestowed no admiration or affection upon them, but was distressed because he would be thought less true to his word than Porsena, and because the daring exploit of the maidens would be called a base fraud on the part of

αἰτίαν ἕξει κακούργημα Ῥωμαίων γεγονέναι. διὸ συλλαβὼν αὐτὰς πάλιν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν
3 Πορσίναν. ταῦτα δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ταρκύνιον προαισθόμενοι, καὶ καθίσαντες ἐνέδραν τοῖς ἄγουσι τὰς παῖδας, ἐν τῷ περᾶν ἐπέθεντο πλείονες ὄντες. ἐκείνων δὲ ὅμως ἀμυνομένων, ἡ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ Οὐαλλερία διὰ μέσων ὁρμήσασα τῶν μαχομένων ἀπέφυγε, καὶ τρεῖς τινες οἰκέται συνδιεκπεσόντες ἔσωζον αὐτήν. τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἀναμεμιγμένων τοῖς μαχομένοις, αἰθόμενος Ἄρρων ὁ Πορσίνα υἱὸς ὀξέως προσεβοήθησε, καὶ φυγῆς γενομένης τῶν πολεμίων περιεποίησε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.

4 Ὡς δὲ τὰς παρθένους κομισθείσας ὁ Πορσίνας εἶδε, τὴν καταρξαμένην τῆς πράξεως καὶ παρακελευσαμένην ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐζήτει. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Κλοιλίας προσέβλεψεν αὐτὴν ἵλεῳ καὶ φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ, καὶ κελεύσας ἵππον ἀχθῆναι τῶν βασιλικῶν κεκοσμημένον εὐπρεπῶς ἐδωρήσατο. τοῦτο ποιοῦνται μαρτύριον οἱ μόνην τὴν Κλοιλίαν λέγοντες ἵππῳ διεξελάσαι τὸν
5 ποταμόν. οἱ δ' οὔ φασιν, ἀλλὰ τιμῆσαι τὸ ἀνδρῶδες αὐτῆς τὸν Τυρρηνόν. ἀνάκειται δὲ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν πορευομένοις εἰς Παλάτιον ἀνδριὰς αὐτῆς ἔφιππος, ὅν τινες οὐ τῆς Κλοιλίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς Οὐαλλερίας εἶναι λέγουσιν.

Ὁ δὲ Πορσίνας διαλλαγεὶς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις

the Romans. He seized them, therefore, and sent them back again to Porsena. But Tarquin and his men got timely intelligence of this, set an ambush for the convoy of the maidens, and attacked them in superior numbers as they passed along. The party attacked defended themselves, nevertheless, and Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, darted through the combatants and fled, and with the help of three attendants who broke through the crowd with her, made good her escape. The rest of the maidens were mingled with the combatants and in peril of their lives. But Aruns, the son of Porsena, learning of the affair, came with all speed to their assistance, put their enemies to flight, and rescued the Romans.

When Porsena saw the maidens thus brought back, he asked for the one who had begun the enterprise and encouraged the rest in it. And when he heard Cloelia named as the one, he looked upon her with a gracious and beaming countenance, and ordering one of the royal horses to be brought, all fittingly caparisoned, he made her a present of it. Those who say that Cloelia, and Cloelia alone, crossed the river on horseback, produce this fact in evidence. Others dispute the inference, and say that the Tuscan merely honoured in this way the maiden's courage. But an equestrian statue of her stands by the Via Sacra, as you go to the Palatine, though some say it represents not Cloelia, but Valeria.[1]

Porsena, thus reconciled with the Romans, gave

[1] According to Livy, who gives a very different version of the Cloelia episode (ii. 13, 6–11), the maidens were incited by the example of Mucius to their display of courage, in memory of which the Romans erected at the top of the Via Sacra an equestrian statue, "virgo insidens equo."

ἄλλην τε ἑαυτοῦ πολλὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐπεδείξατο τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς
6 ἀναλαβεῖν κελεύσας, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν, ἀλλ' ἐκλείπειν τὸν χάρακα σίτου τε πολλοῦ καὶ χρημάτων γέμοντα παντοδαπῶν, παρέδωκε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. διὸ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι πωλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια πρῶτα κηρύττουσι τὰ Πορσίνα χρήματα, τιμὴν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς χάριτος ἀΐδιον ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ διαφυλάττοντες. εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ χαλκοῦς ἀνδριὰς αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἁπλοῦς καὶ ἀρχαϊκὸς τῇ ἐργασίᾳ.

XX. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σαβίνων ἐμβαλόντων εἰς τὴν χώραν ὕπατος μὲν ἀπεδείχθη Μάρκος Οὐαλλέριος, ἀδελφὸς Ποπλικόλα, καὶ Ποστούμιος Τούβερτος. Πραττομένων δὲ τῶν μεγίστων γνώμῃ καὶ παρουσίᾳ Ποπλικόλα δυσὶ μάχαις μεγάλαις ὁ Μάρκος ἐνίκησεν, ὧν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ μηδένα Ῥωμαίων ἀποβαλὼν τρισχιλίους ἐπὶ
2 μυρίοις τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεῖλε. καὶ γέρας ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς θριάμβοις οἰκίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι δημοσίοις ἀναλώμασιν ἐν Παλατίῳ. τῶν δ' ἄλλων τότε θυρῶν εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας εἰς τὸ κλεισίον ἀνοιγομένων, ἐκείνης μόνης τῆς οἰκίας ἐποίησαν ἐκτὸς ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν αὔλειον, ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συγχώρημα τῆς τιμῆς ἀεὶ τοῦ δημοσίου προσεπιλαμβάνοι.

3 Τὰς δ' Ἑλληνικὰς πρότερον οὕτως ἔχειν ἁπάσας λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῳδιῶν λαμβάνοντες, ὅτι κόπτουσι καὶ ψοφοῦσι τὰς αὑτῶν θύρας ἔνδοθεν οἱ προϊέναι μέλλοντες, ὅπως αἴσθησις ἔξω γένοιτο τοῖς παρερχομένοις ἢ προεστῶσι καὶ μὴ κατα-

the city many proofs of his magnanimity. In particular, he ordered his Tuscan soldiers, when they evacuated their camp, to take with them their arms only, and nothing else, leaving it full of abundant provisions and all sorts of valuables, which he turned over to the Romans. Therefore it is that down to this very day, when there is a sale of public property, Porsena's goods are cried first, and thus the man's kindness is honoured with perpetual remembrance. Moreover, a bronze statue of him used to stand near the senate-house, of simple and archaic workmanship.[1]

XX. After this, when the Sabines invaded the Roman territory, Marcus Valerius, a brother of Publicola, was made consul, and with him Postumius Tubertus. Inasmuch as the most important steps were taken with the advice and assistance of Publicola, Marcus was victorious in two great battles, and in the second of them, without losing a single Roman, slew thirteen thousand of the enemy.[2] Besides his triumphs, he also obtained the honour of a house built for him at the public charge on the Palatine. And whereas the doors of other houses at that time opened inwards into the vestibule, they made the outer door of his house, and of his alone, to open outwards, in order that by this concession he might be constantly partaking of public honour.

They say that all Greek doors used to open outwards in this way, and the conclusion is drawn from their comedies, where those who are about to go out of a house beat noisily on the inside of their own doors, in order that persons passing by or standing in front of them may hear, and not be

[1] Cf. Livy, ii. 14, 1–4. [2] Cf. Livy, ii. 16, 1.

λαμβάνοιντο προϊούσαις ταῖς κλεισιάσιν εἰς τὸν στενωπόν.

XXI. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει πάλιν ὑπάτευε Ποπλικόλας τὸ τέταρτον· ἦν δὲ προσδοκία πολέμου Σαβίνων καὶ Λατίνων συνισταμένων. καί τις ἅμα δεισιδαιμονία τῆς πόλεως ἥψατο· πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ κυοῦσαι τότε γυναῖκες ἐξέβαλλον ἀνάπηρα, καὶ τέλος οὐδεμία γένεσις ἔσχεν. ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἱλασάμενος τῷ Ἄιδῃ καί τινας ἀγῶνας πυθοχρήστους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἡδίονα καταστήσας τὴν πόλιν, ἤδη τοῖς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων φοβεροῖς προσεῖχε. μεγάλη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο κατασκευὴ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ σύστασις.

2 Ἦν οὖν Ἄππιος Κλαῦσος ἐν Σαβίνοις, ἀνὴρ χρήμασί τε δυνατὸς καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιφανής, ἀρετῆς δὲ δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ λόγου δεινότητι πρωτεύων. ὃ δὲ πᾶσι συμβαίνει τοῖς μεγάλοις οὐ διέφυγε παθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐφθονεῖτο· καὶ τοῖς φθονοῦσιν αἰτίαν παρέσχε καταπαύων τὸν πόλεμον αὔξειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι
3 καὶ δουλώσει τῆς πατρίδος. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς λόγους τούτους βουλομένῳ τῷ πλήθει λεγομένους, καὶ προσκρούοντα τοῖς πολεμοποιοῖς καὶ στρατιωτικοῖς ἑαυτόν, ἐφοβεῖτο τὴν κρίσιν. ἑταιρείαν δὲ καὶ δύναμιν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἔχων ἀμύ-

taken by surprise when the doors open out into the street.

XXI. In the following year Publicola was consul again, for the fourth time, when there was expectation of a war with the Sabines and Latins combined.[1] At the same time also a sort of superstitious terror seized upon the city because all the women who were pregnant were delivered of imperfect offspring, and all births were premature. Wherefore, by direction of the Sibylline books, Publicola made propitiatory sacrifices to Pluto, and renewed certain games that had been recommended by Apollo, and after he had thus made the city more cheerful in its hopes and expectations from the gods, he turned his attention to what it feared from men. For their enemies were plainly making great preparations and a powerful league against them.

Now there was among the Sabines one Appius Clausus,[2] a man whose wealth made him powerful, as his personal prowess made him illustrious, but who was most eminent for his lofty character and for his great eloquence. He could not, however, escape the fate of all great men, but was an object of jealous hate, and when he tried to stop the war, those who hated him charged him with trying to increase the power of Rome, with a view to making himself tyrant and master of his own country. Perceiving that the multitude gave a ready ear to these stories, and that he himself was obnoxious to the war party and the military, he feared the issue, but with a large and powerful coterie of friends and

[1] Livy gives a very brief account of this war (ii. 16, 2-6).

[2] Attius Clausus among the Sabines, Appius Claudius among the Romans, according to Livy, ii, 16, 4.

νουσαν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐστασίαζε. καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν τοῦ πολέμου διατριβὴ καὶ μέλλησις τοῖς Σαβίνοις.

4 Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Ποπλικόλας οὐ μόνον εἰδέναι ποιούμενος ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινεῖν καὶ συνεξορμᾶν τὴν στάσιν, εἶχεν ἄνδρας ἐπιτηδείους οἳ τῷ Κλαύσῳ διελέγοντο παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἄνδρα σε χρηστὸν ὄντα καὶ δίκαιον οὐδενὶ κακῷ δεῖν οἴεται τοὺς σεαυτοῦ πολίτας ἀμύνεσθαι, καίπερ ἀδικούμενον· εἰ δὲ βούλοιο σώζων ἑαυτὸν μεταστῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν τοὺς μισοῦντας, ὑποδέξεταί σε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῆς τε σῆς ἀρετῆς ἀξίως καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων λαμπρότητος.

5 ταῦτα πολλάκις ἀνασκοποῦντι τῷ Κλαύσῳ βέλτιστα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συμπαρακαλῶν, ἐκείνων τε πολλοὺς ὁμοίως συναναπειθόντων, πεντακισχιλίους οἴκους ἀναστήσας μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, ὅπερ ἦν ἐν Σαβίνοις ἀθόρυβον μάλιστα καὶ βίου πράου καὶ καθεστῶτος οἰκεῖον, εἰς Ῥώμην ἦγε, προειδότος τοῦ Ποπλικόλα καὶ δεχομένου φιλοφρόνως καὶ

6 προθύμως ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οἴκους εὐθὺς ἀνέμιξε τῷ πολιτεύματι, καὶ χώραν ἀπένειμεν ἑκάστῳ δυεῖν πλέθρων περὶ τὸν Ἀνίωνα ποταμόν, τῷ δὲ Κλαύσῳ πλέθρα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι γῆς ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ προσέγραψεν, ἀρχὴν πολιτείας λαμβάνοντα ταύτην, ᾗ χρώμενος ἐμφρόνως ἀνέδραμεν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν ἔσχε μεγάλην, καὶ γένος οὐδενὸς ἀμαυρότερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ Κλαυδίων ἀφ' αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε.

XXII. Τὰ δὲ Σαβίνων οὕτω διακριθέντα τῷ

kinsmen to defend him, continued his opposition. This made the Sabines put off and delay the war.

Publicola, accordingly, making it his business not only to know about these matters, but also to foment and promote the faction, kept some of his followers employed in bringing to Clausus from him such messages as this: "Publicola thinks thee too worthy and just a man to inflict any evil upon thy fellow citizens in self-defence, even though thou art wronged by them. But if thou wishest, for thine own safety, to change thine allegiance and flee from those who hate thee, he will receive thee with public and private honours which are worthy of thine own excellence and the splendour of Rome." On repeated consideration of the matter, this course seemed to Clausus the best that was open to him; he therefore summoned his friends, who in like manner persuaded many more, to join him, and taking five thousand families from their homes, wives and children included, the most peaceful folk among the Sabines, of gentle and sedate lives, he led them to Rome. Publicola knew beforehand of their coming, and gave them an eager and a kindly welcome, admitting them to all rights and privileges. For he at once incorporated the families in the Roman state, and gave each one two acres of land on the river Anio. To Clausus, however, he gave twenty-five acres of land, and enrolled him among the senators. This was the beginning of a political power which he used so wisely that he mounted to the highest dignity and acquired great influence. The Claudian family, which is descended from him, is no less illustrious than any in Rome.

XXII. Though the schism among the Sabines was

μετοικισμῷ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ εἴασαν οἱ δημαγωγοῦντες ἀτρεμῆσαι καὶ καταστῆναι, σχετλιάζοντες εἰ Κλαῦσος ἃ παρὼν οὐκ ἔπεισε διαπράξεται φυγὰς γενόμενος καὶ πολέμιος, μὴ δοῦναι δίκην Ῥωμαίους ὧν ὑβρίζουσιν. ἅραντες οὖν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ περὶ Φιδήνας κατηυλίσαντο, καί τινα λόχον θέμενοι πρὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν χωρίοις συνηρεφέσι καὶ κοίλοις δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ἔμελλον ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ φανερῶς ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι λείαν ἐλαύ-
2 νειν. εἴρητο δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅταν τῇ πόλει προσελάσωσιν, ὑποφεύγειν ἕως ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν τοὺς πολεμίους· ταῦθ' ὁ Ποπλικόλας αὐθημερὸν πυθόμενος παρ' αὐτομόλων ταχὺ διηρμόσατο πρὸς πάντα καὶ διένειμε τὴν δύναμιν. Ποστούμιος μὲν γὰρ Βάλβος ὁ γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ τρισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις ἐσπέρας ἔτι προελθὼν καὶ καταλαβὼν τοὺς ἀκρολόφους, ὑφ' οἷς ἐνήδρευον οἱ
3 Σαβῖνοι, παρεφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ συνάρχων Λουκρήτιος ἔχων τὸ κουφότατον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ γενναιότατον ἐτάχθη τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι τὴν λείαν ἱππεῦσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν στρατιὰν κύκλῳ περιῆλθε τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὁμίχλης βαθείας ἐπιπεσούσης, περὶ ὄρθρον ἅμα Ποστούμιός τε τοὺς ἐνεδρεύ- 10
οντας ἐμβοήσας ἔβαλεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, καὶ τοῖς προϊππασαμένοις ἐφῆκε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Λουκρήτιος, καὶ Ποπλικόλας προσέβαλε τοῖς στρατο-
4 πέδοις τῶν πολεμίων. πάντη μὲν οὖν ἐκακοῦτο τὰ Σαβίνων καὶ διεφθείρετο· τοὺς δ' ἐνταῦθα μηδ' ἀμυνομένους, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας, εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ὀλεθριωτάτης γενο-

thus removed by the emigration of these men, their popular leaders would not suffer them to settle down into quiet, but complained bitterly that Clausus, by becoming an exile and an enemy, should bring to pass what he could not effect by his persuasions at home, namely, that Rome pay no penalty for her outrages. Setting out, therefore, with a large army, they encamped near Fidenae, and placed two thousand men-at-arms in ambush just outside of Rome in wooded hollows. Their intention was that a few of their horsemen, as soon as it was day, should boldly ravage the country. But these had been ordered, whenever they approached the city and were attacked, to retire gradually until they had drawn the enemy into the ambuscade. That very day Publicola learned of this plan from deserters, and took measures accordingly, dividing up his forces. Postumius Balbus, his son-in-law, while it was yet evening, went out with three thousand men-at-arms, occupied the hills under which the Sabines were lying in ambush, and kept the enemy under observation; Lucretius, his colleague, retaining in the city the lightest armed and most impetuous troops, was ordered to attack the enemy's horsemen as they ravaged the country; he himself took the rest of the army and encircled the enemy in their camp. Favoured by a heavy fog, at break of day Postumius, with loud shouts, fell upon the ambuscade from the heights, while Lucretius hurled his troops upon the horsemen when they rode towards the city, and Publicola attacked the camp of the enemy. At all points, then, the Sabines were worsted and undone. Wherever they were, they made no defence, but fled, and the Romans straightway slew them. The

μένης. σώζεσθαι γὰρ οἰόμενοι τοὺς ἑτέρους οἱ ἕτεροι τῷ μάχεσθαι καὶ μένειν οὐ προσεῖχον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων πρὸς τοὺς ἐνεδρεύοντας, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ὡς ἐκείνους εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον θέοντες ἐναντίοι φεύγουσιν ἐνέπιπτον πρὸς οὓς ἔφευγον καὶ βοηθείας δεομένοις οὓς ἤλπιζον αὐτοῖς βοηθήσειν. τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς Σαβίνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιγενέσθαι τινὰς ἡ Φιδηνατῶν πόλις ἐγγὺς οὖσα παρέσχε, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅθ' ἥλίσκετο, διεκπίπτουσιν. ὅσοι δὲ Φιδηνῶν διήμαρτον διεφθάρησαν ἢ ζῶντες ἀπήχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων.

XXIII. Τοῦτο τὸ κατόρθωμα Ῥωμαῖοι, καίπερ εἰωθότες ἅπασι τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐπιφημίζειν τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἑνὸς ἔργον ἡγοῦντο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γεγονέναι. καὶ τῶν μεμαχημένων πρῶτον ἦν ἀκούειν ὅτι χωλοὺς καὶ τυφλοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ μόνον οὐ καθείρξας τοὺς πολεμίους Ποπλικόλας παρέδωκε χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν. ἐρρώσθη δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.

2 Ὁ δὲ Ποπλικόλας τόν τε θρίαμβον ἀγαγὼν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ὑπάτοις παραδοὺς τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς ἐφικτόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις μάλιστα τοῖς νενομισμένοις καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐκτελεϊώσας. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὥσπερ οὐδὲν εἰς ζῶντα τῶν ἀξίων πεποιηκώς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὀφείλων χάριν, ἐψηφίσατο δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τεταρτη-

3 μόριον ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τιμῇ συνεισενεγκεῖν. αἱ δὲ

very hopes they placed in one another proved most fatal to them. For each party, supposing that the other was safe, had no thought of holding their ground and fighting, but those in the camp ran towards those in the ambuscade, while these, on their part, ran to those in the camp, so that fugitives encountered fugitives, and found those needing succour from whom they expected succour themselves. And all the Sabines would have perished, had not the neighbouring city of Fidenae afforded a refuge to some, especially to those who fled from the camp when it was captured. All who did not gain this city were either slain or brought back to Rome as prisoners.

XXIII. This success the Romans, although they were wont to attribute all such great events to the influence of the gods, considered to be the work of their general alone. And the first thing his soldiers were heard to say was that Publicola had delivered their enemies into their hands lame, blind, and all but imprisoned, to be dispatched by their swords. Great wealth also accrued to the people from the spoils and prisoners.

But Publicola, immediately after celebrating his triumph and handing the city over to the consuls appointed to succeed him, died. So far as it can possibly be achieved by men who are regarded as honourable and good, he had brought his life to perfection. The people, as if they had done nothing to show their esteem for him while he was alive, but owed him every homage, decreed that his body should be buried at the public charge, and that every man should contribute a quadrans towards the honour. The women also, by private agreement

γυναῖκες, ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὰς συμφρονήσασαι, διεπέν-
θησαν ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ πένθος ἔντιμον
καὶ ζηλωτόν. ἐτάφη δὲ καὶ οὕτως τῶν πολιτῶν
ψηφισαμένων ἐντὸς ἄστεος παρὰ τὴν καλου-
μένην Οὐελίαν, ὥστε καὶ γένει παντὶ τῆς ταφῆς
μετεῖναι. νῦν δὲ θάπτεται μὲν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀπὸ
γένους, κομίσαντες δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκεῖ κατατί-
θενται καὶ δᾷδά τις ἡμμένην λαβὼν ὅσον ὑπή-
νεγκεν, εἶτα ἀναιρεῖται, μαρτυρόμενος ἔργῳ τὸ
ἐξεῖναι, φείδεσθαι δὲ τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν
οὕτως ἀποκομίζουσιν.

ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΠΛΙΚΟΛΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Ι. Ἆρ' οὖν ἴδιόν τι περὶ ταύτην τὴν σύγκρισιν
ὑπάρχει καὶ μὴ πάνυ συμβεβηκὸς ἑτέρᾳ τῶν
ἀναγεγραμμένων, τὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι μιμητὴν
τοῦ ἑτέρου, τὸν ἕτερον δὲ μάρτυν; ὅρα γὰρ ἦν
ὁ Σόλων ἐξήνεγκε περὶ εὐδαιμονίας ἀπόφασιν
πρὸς Κροῖσον, ὡς Ποπλικόλᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ Τέλλῳ
2 προσήκει· Τέλλου μὲν γάρ, ὃν εἶπε γεγονέναι
μακαριώτατον δι' εὐποτμίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐ-
τεκνίαν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ὡς ἀνδρὸς
ἀγαθοῦ λόγον ἔσχεν οὔτε παῖδες οὔτ' ἀρχή τις
εἰς δόξαν ἦλθεν· Ποπλικόλας δὲ καὶ ζῶν ἐπρώ-
τευσε δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ δι' ἀρετὴν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ

[1] "In the following year, Agrippa Menemus and P. Postumius being consuls, P. Valerius, by universal consent the foremost Roman in the arts of war and peace, died, in the height of his glory, but so poor that means to defray his

amongst themselves, mourned a whole year for him, with a mourning which was honourable and enviable.[1] He was buried, too, by express vote of the citizens, within the city, near the so-called Velia,[2] and all his family were to have privilege of burial there. Now, however, none of the family is actually buried there, but the body is carried thither and set down, and some one takes a burning torch and holds it under the bier for an instant, and then takes it away, attesting by this act that the deceased has the right of burial there, but relinquishes the honour. After this the body is borne away.

COMPARISON OF SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

I. There is, then, something peculiar in this comparison, and something that has not been true of any other thus far, namely, that the second imitated the first, and the first bore witness for the second. For it must be plain that the verdict concerning happiness which Solon pronounced to Croesus, is more applicable to Publicola than to Tellus. Tellus, whom Solon pronounced the most blessed man he knew, because of his fortunate lot, his virtue, and his goodly offspring, was not celebrated in Solon's poems as a good man, nor did his children or any magistracy of his achieve a reputation; whereas Publicola, while he lived, was foremost among the Romans in in-

funeral expenses were lacking. He was therefore buried at the public charge, and the matrons mourned for him as they had done for Brutus" (Livy, ii. 16, 7).

[2] See chapter x. 2.

τεθνηκότος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις γένεσι καὶ στέμμασιν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς Ποπλικόλαι καὶ Μεσσάλαι καὶ Οὐαλλέριοι δι' ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων τῆς
3 εὐγενείας τὴν δόξαν ἀναφέρουσι. καὶ Τέλλος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τάξει μένων καὶ μαχόμενος κατέστρεψε· Ποπλικόλας δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κτείνας, ὃ τοῦ πεσεῖν εὐτυχέστερόν ἐστι, τὴν δὲ πατρίδα νικῶσαν ἐπιδὼν δι' αὑτὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ στρατηγοῦντα, τιμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ θριαμβεύσας ἔτυχε τῆς ζηλουμένης ὑπὸ Σόλωνος καὶ μακαριζομένης τελευτῆς.
4 ἔτι τοίνυν οἷς πρὸς Μίμνερμον ἀντειπὼν περὶ χρόνου ζωῆς ἐπιπεφώνηκε,

> Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
> ποιήσαιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς,

εὐδαίμονα τὸν Ποπλικόλαν ἄνδρα ποιεῖ. τελευ- 1
τήσας γὰρ οὐ φίλοις οὐδ' οἰκείοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ, μυριάσι πολλαῖς, δάκρυα καὶ πόθον καὶ κατήφειαν ἐφ' αὑτῷ παρέσχεν· αἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαίων γυναῖκες ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ υἱὸν ἢ
5 ἀδελφὸν ἢ πατέρα κοινὸν ἀποβαλοῦσαι. "Χρήματα δ' ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν," φησὶν ὁ Σόλων, "ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλω," ὡς δίκης ἐπιούσης· Ποπλικόλᾳ δ' ὑπῆρχεν οὐ μόνον μὴ κακῶς πλουτεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶς ἀναλίσκειν εὖ ποιοῦντι τοὺς δεομένους. ὥστ' εἰ σοφώτατος ἁπάντων ὁ Σόλων, εὐδαιμονέστατος ὁ Ποπλικόλας. ἃ γὰρ εὔξατο τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκεῖνος ὡς μέγιστα καὶ

fluence and repute for virtue, and since his death the most illustrious family lines of our own day, like the Publicolae, the Messalae, and the Valerii, have for six hundred years ascribed the glory of their noble birth to him. Tellus, moreover, though he kept his post and fought like a brave man, died at the hands of his enemies; whereas Publicola slew his enemies, which is a better fortune than to be slain by them, saw his country victorious through his efforts as consul and general, and enjoyed honours and triumphs before he came to the end which Solon pronounced so enviable and blest. Still further, what Solon says to Mimnermus,[1] in arguing with him on the proper duration of human life,

> "May not an unlamented death be mine, but unto friends
> Let me be cause, when dead, for sorrow and for sighing,"

argues Publicola a happy man. For when he died, his loss filled not only friends and kindred, but the entire city, numbering many tens of thousands, with weeping and yearning and sorrow. For the women of Rome mourned for him as though they had lost a son, or a brother, or a common father. "Wealth I desire to have," says Solon, "but wrongfully to get it, I do not wish,"[2] believing that punishment would follow. And Publicola's wealth was not only not ill got, but also nobly spent in benefactions to the needy. So that if Solon was the wisest, Publicola was the most happy of men, since what Solon prayed for as the greatest and

[1] Fragment 21 (Bergk). [2] See *Solon*, ii. 3.

κάλλιστα, ταῦτα καὶ κτήσασθαι Ποπλικόλᾳ καὶ φυλάξαι χρωμένῳ μέχρι τέλους ὑπῆρξεν.

II. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σόλων κεκόσμηκε τὸν Ποπλικόλαν, τὸν Σόλωνα δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ παραδειγμάτων κάλλιστον ἀνδρὶ κοσμοῦντι δημοκρατίαν θέμενος· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀρχῆς τὸν ὄγκον ἀφελὼν εὐμενῆ πᾶσι καὶ ἄλυπον κατέστησε, νόμοις δὲ πολλοῖς ἐχρήσατο τῶν ἐκείνου. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως κυρίους ἐποίησε τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσι δίκην ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον, ὥσπερ ὁ Σόλων τοὺς δικαστάς, ἔδωκε. καὶ βουλὴν μὲν ἑτέραν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ὥσπερ ὁ Σόλων, τὴν δ' οὖσαν ηὔξησεν ἀριθμῷ
2 μικροῦ διπλασιάσας. ἥ τε τῶν ταμιῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι κατάστασις ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν, ὅπως ὁ ἄρχων μήτ' εἰ χρηστός ἐστιν ἀσχολίαν ἔχῃ πρὸς τὰ μείζω, μήτ' εἰ φαῦλος ἀφορμὰς τοῦ ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον, καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κύριος γενόμενος. τὸ δὲ μισοτύραννον ἐν τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ σφοδρότερον. εἰ γάρ τις ἐπιχειροίη τυραννεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἀλόντι τὴν δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν, ὁ
3 δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἀνελεῖν δίδωσι. σεμνυνομένου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ὅτι καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ διδόντων τυραννεῖν καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐκ ἀκουσίως δεχομένων ἀπεῖπεν, οὐχ ἧττον ὑπάρχει καλὸν τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ τὸ λαβόντα τυραννικὴν ἀρχὴν ποιῆσαι δημοτικωτέραν καὶ μηδ' οἷς ἐξῆν ἔχοντα χρήσασθαι. καὶ τοῦτο δ'

fairest of blessings, these Publicola was privileged to win and continue to enjoy until the end.

II. Thus did Solon enhance the fame of Publicola. And Publicola, too, in his political activities, enhanced the fame of Solon, by making him the fairest of examples for one who was arranging a democracy. For he took away the arrogant powers of the consulship and made it gracious and acceptable to all, and he adopted many of Solon's laws. For instance, he put the appointment of their rulers in the power of the people, and gave defendants the right of appealing to the people, as Solon to the jurors. He did not, indeed, create a new senate, as Solon did, but he increased the one already existing to almost double its numbers. And his appointment of quaestors over the public moneys had a like origin. Its purpose was that the consul, if a worthy officer, might not be without leisure for his more important duties, and, if unworthy, might not have greater opportunities for injustice by having both the administration and the treasury in his hands. Hatred of tyranny was more intense in Publicola than in Solon. For in case any one attempted to usurp the power, by Solon's law he could be punished only after conviction, whereas Publicola made it lawful to kill him before any trial. Moreover, though Solon rightly and justly plumes himself on rejecting absolute power even when circumstances offered it to him and his fellow-citizens were willing that he should take it, it redounds no less to the honour of Publicola that, when he had received a tyrannical power, he made it more democratic, and did not use even the prerogatives which were his by right of possession. And of the wisdom of such a course

ἔοικε συνιδεῖν πρότερος ὁ Σόλων, ὅτι δῆμος

ὧδ' ἂν ἄριστα σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἕποιτο,
μήτε λίην ἀνεθεὶς μήτε πιεζόμενος.

III. Ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἡ τῶν χρεῶν ἄνεσις, ᾗ μάλιστα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐβεβαίωσε τοῖς πολίταις. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος νόμων ἰσότητα παρεχόντων, ἣν ἀφαιρεῖται τὰ χρέα τοὺς πένητας· ἀλλ' ὅπου μάλιστα χρῆσθαι τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ δοκοῦσι, δουλεύουσι μάλιστα τοῖς πλουσίοις, ἐν τῷ δικάζειν καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ λέγειν ἐπιταττόμενοι καὶ ὑπηρε-
2 τοῦντες. τούτου δὲ μεῖζον, ὅτι πάσῃ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῇ στάσεως ἑπομένης, ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ, καθάπερ φαρμάκῳ παραβόλῳ μέν, ἰσχυρῷ δὲ χρησάμενος εὐκαίρως, καὶ τὴν οὖσαν στάσιν ἔλυσε, τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀδοξίας καὶ διαβολῆς περιγενόμενος.

Τῆς δ' ὅλης πολιτείας τῇ μὲν ἀρχῇ λαμπρότερος ὁ Σόλων· ἡγήσατο γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἠκολούθησε, καὶ καθ' αὑτόν, οὐ μεθ' ἑτέρων, ἔπραξε τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν κοινῶν· τῷ τέλει δὲ ἄτερος
3 εὐτυχὴς καὶ ζηλωτός. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Σόλωνος πολιτείαν αὐτὸς ἐπεῖδε Σόλων καταλυθεῖσαν, ἡ δὲ Ποπλικόλα μέχρι τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων διεφύλαξεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὴν πόλιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἅμα τῷ θέσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀπολιπὼν ἐν ξύλοις καὶ

Solon seems to have been conscious even before Publicola, when he says[1] that a people

> "then will yield the best obedience to its guides
> When it is neither humoured nor oppressed too much."

III. Peculiar to Solon was his remission of debts, and by this means especially he confirmed the liberties of the citizens. For equality under the laws is of no avail if the poor are robbed of it by their debts. Nay, in the very places where they are supposed to exercise their liberties most, there they are most in subjection to the rich, since in the courts of justice, the offices of state, and in public debates, they are under their orders and do them service. And what is of greater moment here, though sedition always follows an abolition of debts, in this case alone, by employing opportunely, as it were, a dangerous but powerful medicine, Solon actually put an end to the sedition that was already rife, for his own virtue and high repute prevailed over the ill-repute and odium of the measure.

As regards their political careers in general, Solon's was more brilliant in the beginning. For he led the way and followed no man, and it was alone and without colleagues that he effected the most and greatest of his public measures. But in the ending, the other was more fortunate and enviable. For Solon lived to see with his own eyes the dissolution of his polity, while that of Publicola preserved order in the city down to the civil wars. Solon, as soon as he had made his laws, left them

[1] Fragment 6 (Bergk); cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xii. 2.

γράμμασιν ἐρήμους τοῦ βοηθοῦντος ᾤχετ' ἀπιὼν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ὁ δὲ μένων καὶ ἄρχων καὶ πολιτευόμενος ἵδρυσε καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς ἀσφαλὲς
4 τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔτι δ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲ μέλλοντα κωλῦσαι προαισθομένῳ Πεισίστρατον ὑπῆρξεν, ἀλλ' ἠττήθη συνισταμένης τῆς τυραννίδος· οὗτος 111
δὲ βασιλείαν ἰσχύουσαν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἤδη καὶ κρατοῦσαν ἐξέβαλε καὶ κατέλυσεν, ἀρετὴν μὲν ἴσην καὶ προαίρεσιν ὁμοίαν παρασχόμενος, τύχῃ δὲ καὶ δυνάμει τελεσιουργῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν χρησάμενος.

IV. Τῶν μέντοι πολεμικῶν Σόλωνι μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς Μεγαρεῖς Δαΐμαχος ὁ Πλαταιεὺς μεμαρτύρηκεν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς διεληλύθαμεν· Ποπλικόλας δὲ τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς καὶ μαχόμενος καὶ στρατηγῶν κατώρθωσε. καὶ μὴν ἔτι πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις ὁ μὲν ἐν παιδιᾶς τινι τρόπῳ καὶ προσποίημα μανίας ἀναλαβών, ὑπὲρ
2 Σαλαμῖνος ἐρῶν προῆλθεν· ὁ δ' αὐτόθεν ἀναρρίψας τὸν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κίνδυνον ἐπανέστη τε Ταρκυνίοις καὶ τὴν προδοσίαν ἐφώρασε· καὶ τοῦ κολασθῆναι καὶ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς πονηροὺς αἰτιώτατος γενόμενος οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον τῶν τυράννων ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐξέκοψεν. οὕτω δὲ τοῖς δεχομένοις πράγμασιν ἀγῶνα καὶ θυμὸν καὶ ἀντίταξιν ἐρρωμένως καὶ ἀτενῶς ἀπαντήσας, ἔτι βέλτιον ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὁμιλίας ἀπολέμου καὶ πειθοῦς

inscribed on wooden tables and destitute of a defender, and departed from Athens; whereas Publicola, by remaining in the city, serving as consul, and busying himself with public affairs, firmly and safely established his form of government. And further, though Solon knew beforehand of the designs of Peisistratus, he was not able to hinder them, but yielded to his tyranny in its incipiency; whereas Publicola subverted and drove out a kingly power which was strong with the might which many ages bring. Thus, while exhibiting virtues equal to Solon's, and a purpose identical with his, he enjoyed a good fortune and an efficacious power which supplemented his virtues.

IV. When we consider their military careers, moreover, Daïmachus of Plataea does not allow Solon even the conduct of the war against the Megarians, as we have described it;[1] but Publicola, fighting and commanding in person, brought the greatest struggles to a successful issue. And still further, comparing their political activities, Solon, in play, so to speak, and counterfeiting madness, went forth to plead for the recovery of Salamis; but Publicola, without any subterfuges, ran the greatest risks, set himself in opposition to the party of the Tarquins, and detected their treachery. Then, after being mainly instrumental in the capture and punishment of the traitors, he not only drove the tyrants themselves from the city, but extirpated their very hopes of return. And if he thus sturdily and resolutely confronted situations which called for active and spirited opposition, still better did he deal with those which required peaceable intercourse and gentle

[1] *Solon*, viii.; cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiv. 1.

ὑπεικούσης δεομένοις, Πορσίναν ἄμαχον ἄνδρα καὶ φοβερὸν ἐμμελῶς προσαγαγόμενος καὶ μεταστήσας εἰς φιλίαν.

3 Καίτοι φήσει τις ἐνταῦθα τὸν μὲν Σόλωνα προεμένοις ἀναλαβεῖν Ἀθηναίοις Σαλαμῖνα, τὸν δὲ Ποπλικόλαν ἧς ἐκέκτηντο Ῥωμαῖοι χώρας ἀποστῆναι. δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς τὰς πράξεις θεωρεῖν. ποικίλος γὰρ ὢν ὁ πολιτικὸς ᾧ τρόπῳ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον εὐληπτόν ἐστι μεταχειρίσεται,[1] καὶ μέρους ἀφέσει πολλάκις ἔσωσε τὸ πᾶν καὶ μικρῶν ἀποστὰς
4 μειζόνων ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ τότε τῆς μὲν ἀλλοτρίας χώρας ἀποστὰς ἔσωσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βεβαίως ἅπασαν, οἷς δ' ἦν μέγα τὴν πόλιν διαφυλάξαι προσεκτήσατο τὸ τῶν πολιορκούντων στρατόπεδον, ἐπιτρέψας δὲ τῷ πολεμίῳ δικαστῇ γενέσθαι, καὶ περιγενόμενος τῇ δίκῃ, προσέλαβεν ὅσα δόντας ἀγαπητὸν ἦν νικῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον διέλυσε καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατέλιπεν αὐτοῖς διὰ πίστιν ἀρετῆς καὶ καλοκαγαθίας, ἣν ὁ ἄρχων ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἐνεποίησεν αὐτῷ.

[1] μεταχειρίσεται with two Paris MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: μεταχειρίσασθαι.

persuasion, as when he tactfully won over Porsena, an invincible and formidable foe, and made him a friend of Rome.

But here, perhaps, some one will say that Solon won back Salamis for the Athenians when they had given it up, whereas Publicola relinquished territory which the Romans had acquired. But we must view men's actions in the light of the times which call them forth. The subtle statesman will handle each issue that arises in the most feasible manner, and often saves the whole by relinquishing a part, and by yielding small advantages secures greater ones. And so Publicola, in that instance, by yielding the territory which belonged to others, saved all that was assuredly his own, and procured besides, for those who were hard put to it to save their city, the camp of their besiegers with all its stores. He made his adversary judge in the controversy, won his case, and received besides what his people would gladly have given for the victory. For Porsena put a stop to the war, and left the Romans all his provisions for carrying it on, owing to the confidence in their virtue and nobility with which their consul had inspired him.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Abantes, 11, a people of Euboea in the Homeric period.

Adrastus, 67, king of Argos, and leader of the "Seven against Thebes."

Acilius, Caius, 159, interpreter in the Roman senate for the Athenian embassy of 155 B.C. (*Cato Major*, xxii. 4), author of a history of Rome from the earliest to his own time.

Aeacus, 21, a mythical king of Aegina, after death one of the judges in Hades.

Agnus, 27, an Attic township N.E. of Athens.

Alba, 97, a very ancient town of Latium, on the Alban lake, some twelve miles S.E. of Rome.

Alcman, 291, a Lydian of Sardis, who came in his youth to Sparta, and became the founder of Dorian lyric poetry. He flourished in the latter half of the seventh century B.C.

Alcmene, 17, wife of Amphitryon of Thebes, and mother of Heracles by Zeus.

Anacharsis, 415, a Scythian, who travelled extensively in pursuit of knowledge (Herod. iv. 76 f).

Anaximenes, the orator, 527, of Lampsacus, a pupil of Diogenes the Cynic, active at Athens as rhetorician and historian in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

Androgeos, 29, son of Minos the king of Crete.

Andron of Halicarnassus, 57, a genealogical writer of the fourth century B.C.

Androtion, 443, active in the political life of Athens from 376 to 346 B.C. In old age and exile he wrote an *Atthis*, or History of Attica, which was much read.

Antias, Valerius, 131, 381, a Roman historian who flourished in the earlier part of the first century B.C. His history extended from the earliest times down to those of Sulla, and was much used by both Livy and Plutarch.

Antigonus, 141, probably the general of Alexander who was afterwards king of Asia, surnamed the One-eyed.

Antigonus, 143, author of a History of Italy, in Greek, probably in the latter part of the third century B.C.

Antimachus, of Teos, 121, an early epic poet. Two poems of the epic cycle, the *Thebaïs*, and the *Epigoni*, went under his name.

Antisthenes the Socratic, 301, a pupil of Gorgias and friend of Socrates.

Aphidnae, 75, an ancient Attic township, about fifteen miles N.W. of Athens.

Apollodorus, 205, a learned grammarian of Athens in the latter part of the second century B.C. A treatise of his on mythology, the *Bibliotheca*, has come down to us.

Apollothemis, 303, mentioned only here.

Archilochus, 11, 319, of Paros, one of the earliest Ionian lyric poets, flourishing in 650 B.C.

Ardettus, 63, a hill in the S.E. suburbs of Athens.

Ariadne, 37, daughter of Minos and Pasiphaë, of Crete

Aristocrates, 217, 303, known only as the author of an antiquarian and historical work on Sparta, probably of the early Roman imperial period.

Aristomenes, 169, the Messenian hero of the second war between Messenia and Sparta (685–668 B.C.).

Aristoxenus, 303, of Tarentum, a Greek writer on philosophy and music, a pupil of Aristotle, flourishing in 330 B.C. Parts of his works on Harmony and Rhythm have come down to us.

Athenodorus, son of Sandon, 549, of Tarsus, a Stoic philosopher long resident at Rome, and much esteemed by Augustus.

B

Bion, 59, of Proconnesus, a compiler of mythical history, of uncertain date, not earlier than the fourth century B.C.

Boëdromion, the third month in the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our September.

Brasidas, 283, the greatest Spartan hero of the Peloponnesian war. His death at Amphipolis is described by Thucydides in v. 10.

Brauron, 429, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Attica.

Busiris, 23, a mythical Egyptian king, who sacrificed all foreigners that entered his country.

Butas, 159, probably the freedman of Cato the Younger (Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, lxx.), known as a writer only from this mention of his work.

C

Cameria, 167, an ancient city of Latium, the site of which is unknown.

Cephisus, 23, a river flowing through the plain west of Athens.

Chaeroneia, 65, a town on the northern confines of Boeotia.

Chalcis, 63, the chief town of Euboea, on the straits of the Euripus.

Chrysa, 63, apparently a district of Athens at the foot of the Pnyx hill; but there are no other allusions to it.

Cirrha, 429, a town on the Corinthian gulf, serving as the seaport of Delphi.

Cleidemus, 39, 63, the oldest annalist of Athens, *circa* 420–350 B.C.

Clodius, 307, a Roman chronographer, otherwise unknown.

Codrus, 405, the last king of Athens, who, according to tradition, sacrificed himself for his country.

Colchis, 67, a district on the eastern shore of the Euxine sea.

Colias, Cape, 423, about three miles to the south-east of the ancient harbour of Phalerum.

Creophylus, 215, one of the earliest epic poets of Greece, said to have been a native of Chios, and a relative of Homer. The epic poem *Oechalia* was attributed to him.

Crommyon, Crommyonia, 19, a village and district on the Isthmus of Corinth.

Cychreus, 21, a mythical king of Salamis, receiving hero worship.

Cycnus, 23, a mythical son of Ares, slain by Heracles in Thessaly.

D

Daedalus, 39, the mythical "cunning artificer" of Athens, who took refuge with king Minos of Crete, for whom he built the Labyrinth. He was the father of Icarus.

Daïmachus of Plataea, 573, a Greek historian active in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., author of a work on India.

Deidameia, 69, wife of Peirithoüs, commonly called Hippodameia.

Deinon, 37, 51, one of the annalists of Athens, contemporary with Philochorus (306–260 B.C.).

Demades, 451, a prominent orator and statesman at Athens in the times of Philip, Alexander, and Antipater; a member of the Macedonian party.

Demetrius the Phalerean, 277, 467, regent at Athens for Cassander 317–307 B.C., a voluminous writer on history, politics, poetry, and philosophy.

Dicaearchus, 45, a celebrated Peripatetic philosopher, a disciple of Aristotle and a friend of Theophrastus.

Didymus, 405, the celebrated Alexandrian grammarian, of the time of Augustus.

Dieutychidas, 207, perhaps Dieuchidas is meant, a Megarian chronicler, of the fourth century B.C.

Diocles of Peparethus, 97, 113, an otherwise almost unknown Greek writer, whom Plutarch regards as a source for Fabius Pictor.

Diodorus the Topographer (or Periegete), 85, was probably an Athenian, and flourished at and after the time of Alexander the Great (330–300 B.C.). He wrote a work on the townships of Attica, and one on its monuments.

Diogenes, 301, probably Diogenes the Babylonian is meant, the head of the Stoic school at Athens, and one of the Athenian embassy to Rome in 155 B.C. He wrote a treatise on Laws.

Dionysius, 459, the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse 405–367 B.C.

Dionysius, 139, of Halicarnassus, went to Rome about 29 B.C., where he remained for twenty-two years, collecting materials for his great work on the antiquities and history of Rome.

Dioscorides (or Dioscurides), 237, a pupil of Isocrates, writing in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

Draco, 449, one of the "thesmothetai," or six legislative archons at Athens, in 621 B.C.

E

Eleusis, 21, a city some twelve miles west of Athens, the seat of the celebrated mysteries.

Eleutherae, 69, a mountain fastness between Eleusis and Boeotia.

Epicharmus the comic poet, 335, 542, born on the island of Cos, about 540 B.C., but early taken to Megara in Sicily, and from 484 to 450 B.C. one of the ornaments of the court of Hiero of Syracuse.

Epidauria, 17, between Troezen, on the N.E. cost of Peloponnesus, and the Isthmus of Corinth.

Eratosthenes, 205, of Cyrene, 276–196 B.C., a learned geographer and mathematician, for many years librarian at Alexandria.

Erechtheus, 39, a mythical king of Athens.

Eurytus, 19, a mythical king of the Thessalian city of Oechalia.

Evander, 125, the reputed leader of a colony from Arcadia into Italy, some sixty years before the Trojan war.

G

Gabii, 103, one of the oldest cities of Latium, about twelve miles S.E. of Rome; probably an earlier colony from Alba than Rome.

Gargettus, 27, an Attic township N.E, of Athens.

Gymnosophists, 217, the naked philosophers of India. See Plutarch's *Alexander*, lxiv.

H

Hecataeus the Sophist, 267, of Abdera, a learned philosopher, critic, and grammarian, contemporary with the first Ptolemy (324–283 B.C.).

Hecatombaeon, the first month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our July.

Hellanicus, 33, of Lesbos, the greatest of the Greek chroniclers, 480–395 (?) B.C.

Heracleides Ponticus, 405, 467, so called from his birth in Heracleia of Pontus, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects. Cicero thought him superstitious and uncritical.

Heracleitus, 183, of Ephesus, a philosopher of the Ionian school, who flourished in the latter part of the sixth century B.C.

Hereas the Megarian, 41, 77, 429, known only through Plutarch's citations.

Hermippus, 279, 407, of Smyrna, a distinguished philosopher and biographer, active in the second half of the third century B.C.

Herodorus, 59, of Heracleia in Pontus, flourished in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and was the author of an extended work on the mythology and worship of Heracles.

Hippias the Sophist, 277, 309, a native of Elis, and a contemporary of Socrates. Two dialogues of Plato bear his name.

Hippocrates, 409, of Chios, a Pythagorean philosopher, flourishing in the middle of the fifth century B.C., and chiefly famous as a mathematician.

Hippodameia, 17, daughter of Oenomaüs, and wife of Pelops.

I

Idas, 71, a Messenian hero, inseparable from his brother, the keen-eyed Lynceus, with whom he took part in the Argonautic expedition and the Calydonian boar hunt.

Ides, the fifteenth day of the Roman month (the thirteenth of March, May, July, and October).

Ion of Chios, 41, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., also author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of the day.

Ister, 79, of Cyrene, a Greek historian flourishing between 250 and 230 B.C.

J

Juba, 131, 331, 353, Juba II., king of Mauritania. He lived from 50 B.C. to about 20 A.D., was educated at Rome, and became a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works was a History of Rome.

L

Lapithae, 67, a mountain tribe of Thessaly.

Laurentum, 165, the ancient capital of Latium, on the sea-coast, about sixteen miles S.W. of Rome.

Lavinium, 163, an ancient city of Latium, about seventeen miles S.W. of Rome.

Lyceium, 63, in historic times a gymnasium in the eastern suburbs of Athens.

Lynceus, 71, see Idas.

M

Mantinea, 353, one of the most ancient and powerful towns in Arcadia.

Melicertes, 57, a legendary personage, son of Athamas and Ino and, after his death by drowning, a beneficent sea deity.

Melité, 429, a deme, or ward, of the city of Athens, comprising the hill-region west of the acropolis.

Menecrates, 59, otherwise unknown.

Metellus, Quintus, 117, probably the consul of 60 B.C. His father had been consul in 93 B.C.

Molpadia, 63, an Amazon who was said to have slain Antiope. She was herself slain by Theseus, and her tomb was shown at Athens (Pausanias, i. 2, 1).

Munychion, the tenth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our April.
Museum, 63, one of three hills to the S.W. of the acropolis at Athens.

N

Naxos, 41, the largest of the Cyclades islands, half way between Attica and Asia Minor.
Nones, the ninth day of the Roman month (the seventh of March, May, July, and October).

O

Oechalia, 19, see Eurytus.
Omphalé, 15, a mythical queen of Lydia.

P

Paeon the Amathusian, 43, otherwise unknown.
Palladium, 63, a sacred precinct, evidently near Ardettus, in the S.E. suburbs of Athens. In historical times the "ephetai" sat here to try cases of involuntary homicide.
Pallené, 27, an Attic township N.E. of Athens.
Parrhasius, 11, a celebrated painter, a native of Ephesus, but resident at Athens, flourishing in 400 B.C.
Pasiphaë, 37, wife of Minos, and mother of Ariadne and the Minotaur.
Pataecus, 419, otherwise unknown.
Peirithoüs, 41, king of the Lapithae, a mountain tribe of Thessaly.
Peisistratus, 41, became tyrant of Athens in 560 B.C.
Peleus, 21, mythical king of the Myrmidons of Thessaly, father of Achilles.
Pelops, 17, a mythical king of Elis in Peloponnesus, husband of Hippodameia.
Periander, 413, tyrant of Corinth 625–585 B.C., one of the Seven Wise Men.
Phalerum, 35, the ancient harbour of Athens, before Themistocles fortified Peiraeus.
Phanias the Lesbian, 437, of Eresos, the most distinguished pupil of Aristotle after Theophrastus, a prolific writer on philosophy and history, an historical romancer.
Pherecydes, 37, of Leros, one of the Greek logographers, who lived at Athens, and died about 400 B.C.
Philochorus, 29, 35, the most celebrated writer on the antiquities of Athens, 306–260 B.C.
Philostephanus, 277, of Cyrene, an Alexandrian historian and geographer, who was flourishing in 250 B.C.
Phlya, 433, a township in the eastern part of Attica.
Pictor, Fabius, 97, 113, the earliest Roman annalist, flourishing in the latter part of the third century B.C.
Plutus, 233, the god of wealth.
Pnyx, 61, that one of the three hills to the S.W. of the acropolis of Athens on which the people's assembly was held.
Polyzelus the Rhodian, 447, an historian of uncertain date.
Promathion, 97, otherwise unknown.
Pyanepsion, the fourth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our October.

R

Rhadamanthus, 33, a brother of Minos king of Crete, and like him a judge in the under world.

S

Samothrace, 353, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.
Scyros, 81, an island east of Euboea.
Selinus, 269, a Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily.

Silanio, 11, a famous Athenian statuary in bronze, flourishing in 320 B.C.

Simonides, 21, 35, of Ceos, the greatest lyric poet of Greece, 556–467 B.C.

Simylus the poet, 143, otherwise unknown.

Sosibius, 281, a distinguished Lacedaemonian grammarian, flourishing about 250 B.C.

Spendon the Spartan, 291, otherwise unknown.

Sphaerus, 221, a Stoic philosopher who lived at Alexandria and Sparta, and flourished early in the third century B.C.

Sphettus, 27, a township in the eastern part of Attica.

Stratonicus, 299, probably the famous Athenian musician of the time of Alexander the Great.

Sulla, Sextius, the Carthaginian, 133, otherwise unknown.

T

Tegea, 73, an ancient city in southern Arcadia.

Telamon, 21, a mythical king of Salamis, son of Aeacus, father of Aias.

Termerus, 23, a mythical highwayman slain by Heracles.

Terpander, 291, of Lesbos, father of Greek music and lyric poetry, who taught at Sparta during the seventh century B.C.

Thales, 409, 411, 417, of Miletus, the most celebrated Ionian philosopher, one of the Seven Wise Men, flourishing in the sixth century B.C.

Thales (or Thaletas), 213, a Cretan musician and poet, who was flourishing about 680 B.C.

Timaeus, 205, 303, of Tauromenium, a famous historian of Sicily, 352–256 B.C.

Timon the Phliasian, 333, a native of Phlius in N.E. Peloponnesus, composed satirical poems on earlier and current systems of philosophy (320–230 B.C.).

Trachis, 71, a city of Malis, commanding the approach to Thermopylae.

Troezen, 7, a city on the N.E. coast of Peloponnesus.

Tyrtaeus, 225, a poet who flourished at Sparta during the second Messenian war (685–668 B.C.).

V

Valerias, 131, see Antias.

Varro, 121, M. Terentius, "the most learned of the Romans," an intimate friend of Cicero, whose political principles he shared (116–28 B.C.).

Veii, 169, an ancient and powerful city of Etruria, about twelve miles north of Rome.

Z

Zeno, 301, probably the Stoic philosopher is meant, who taught at Athens in the third century B.C., and wrote on law and government.

Zenodotus of Troezen, 131, referred to by Dionysius Hal. (ii. 49) as author of a history of Umbria.

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